

● Beyond ethnicity — the crisis of the authoritarian state ●
— Mervyn de Silva

LANKA

GUARDIAN

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1987 the YEAR

**of
the taming of the Tamil tiger**

**the Sinhala lion
uncaged**

and the endangered



What's wrong with the Accord ?

— K. Pathmanabha
Urmila Phadnis

South Asian cricket — the Umpire strikes back

— Azhar Karim

● **Ronnie and elections**

● **M.G.R.**

● **Michael Rodrigo**

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ANOTHER FIRST

It's yet another and a highly significant 'first' for the South. The cooperation of Colonel C. I. Algoma, the Area Coordinating officer has been sought by the first "Citizens Committee" for the protection of the people of the Kolonne electorate. The initiative led to a meeting of leading citizens of the constituency held at Embilipitiya, the electorate's main town. Kolonne is represented by Mr. Nanda Mathew, of the UNP, and Embilipitiya is the "forward headquarters" of the Joint Operations Command. (JOC).

According to the *Sunday Times*, the prevailing "insecurity" in the area prompted certain religious dignitaries, professionals and businessmen to follow the lead given by prominent citizens in the strife-torn north and east after 1983.

Asked whether the "Green Tigers" were operating in the Ratnapura district, Mr. Mathew said he did not know about such activities.

NEW RECRUITS

Despite a cut in defence spending, 1988 will see 10,000 more men in uniform. The army and navy will recruit 1,500 each, with the Air Force given money to take in another 1,000. The Police gets the biggest slice of the cake. The 1988 intake of the Police Force this year is the highest on record — 6,000.

BOMB DISPOSAL

One up for de-centralisation. The ideals spreading. The Defence Ministry is studying a proposal for setting up Bomb Disposal Units at 'the provincial level', as the bureaucratic phrase goes. Right now, the Army has the only up-to-date equipment, including robots. The army also has the only fully-trained squad. It is on call 24 hours a day and can meet most emergencies in Colombo.

The Army unit has more than enough trained men to deploy in the main towns but the sophisticated equipment costs more than

the budget could accommodate. However, the Defence Ministry remains quite worried about bomb attacks in major towns like Kandy, especially after the explosion which tipped the offices of the Indian High Commission and the house of the Deputy Minister of Education. Mini squads in at least Kandy and two towns in the South may be deployed as violence spreads and counter terrorism acquires a wider reach.

NEW ADDICTIONS

Add a new addiction. The "blue film viewer" is a dramatic change in style observes the Prisons Commissioner in his 1986 report on the categories of convicted prisoners serving sentences in Sri Lanka jails. This new class of offender made more than a modest contribution to prison population, 196 in fact.

Reflecting on far more significant trends, the Commissioner notes that there was a marked increase in the number of prisoners convicted for drug related offences. The 1985 figure was 3,207 while in 1986 it rose to 3,722. Interestingly, prisoners serving jail terms for offences connected with narcotic drugs larger in number than those found guilty of ordinary excise offences, a group which usually represent about 25% of the inmates at any given time.

Bialitis and Elephantiasis

While the nation is caught up in increasing socio economic and political tensions, Mr. I. R. Jayawardene addressing the 4th annual general meeting of the Sawa Manitha movement at the Supthadasa Indoor Stadium described a new disease which he has named Bialitis.

The virus an elusive agent of Bialitis is greed for power and wealth clinically manifesting itself in the victims as an intense fear syndrome. Little does he realise that this virulent and contagious greed for power-virus made its first appearance somewhere around December 1982 and reached epidemic proportions during and immediately after the referendum. No doubt cool breezes that prevail during this time of the year and the heat emanating from the massive lamps that adorned the country side would have created the ideal conditions for the virus to catch on and multiply in those jubilant crowds.

Sad for the infected victims however, Bialitis according to the latest findings have two phases is greed

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Things Fall Apart... but some into place

Mervyn de Silva

NEWS
BACKGROUND

First a burst of gunfire in a busy street in the heart of the capital in broad daylight. Then a "bombshell" in a Parliament where a daring grenade attack had nearly claimed the lives of the President JR, Prime Minister Premadasa and several Ministers in mid-August. The Sri Lankan crisis which had invited so many descriptive titles from our politicians, our commentators, and our academic analysts and ethnicity champions of both camps ("Northern problem", "Sinhala-Tamil North-South issue", South-South conflict etc) had finally come home, to Colombo, the power-centre, the habitat of the affluent and the elite.

The burst from a Chinese-made T-54 killed 37 year old Harsha Abeywardena, only four days earlier unanimously re-elected the chairman of the ruling UNP. The bombshell was dropped on the floor of the House by no less a person than Finance Minister Roméo de Mel, the presiding genius of the "new economy", the pilgrim to Paris annually returning home like some Santa Claus with the Christmas goodies of IMF-World Bank aid, the latest journey yielding 473 million dollars for the rehabilitation and economic recovery of the war-ravaged north.

Like the proverbial blind men trying to grasp the "reality" of the Elephant the Sri Lankan intelligentsia — Sinhala and Tamil — and the foreign pundits, along with the entire diplomatic community, have all being engaged in the same well-intentioned but selective exercise of describing that 'reality' in terms of the trunk, the legs, the tail. It was the Elephant, after all, the whole of it, not the Tiger nor the Lion. (See "Centralisation, the crux of the crisis")

It took the most intelligent and outspoken member of the Cabinet to remind his party and our Parliament that there were only 17 elected MP's in the House — those elected after the Referendum of Dec. 1982. He might have added that 14 elected Tamil MP's withdrew from the House in the wake of the 6th Amendment; also that the Tamil community, the victims of State-sponsored violence in 1977, 1979 and in the North in 1980 and finally the pogrom of 1983 (for which the JVP, CP and NESP were blamed, with the JVP still proscribed) remain totally unrepresented. If no elections are held soon, the people may well turn to the government and say "In the name of God, go", concluded Mr. de Mel. It took courage to say that. As it did to give the UNP and the Opposition an educative tour d' horizon on ethnic conflicts and revolts across the world, from Cyprus to Mindanao.

Yes, the referendum, not the July 1983 anti-Tamil riots, was the real turning point that should also have been our main reference point, and the point of departure for informed discussion and analysis. In the letter she sent to leading personalities in the western democracies, and to opposition parties in western Europe, South Asia, Philippines, South Korea etc in March last year.

Mrs. Bandaranaike appreciated this fact. She wrote "Unfortunately the crisis in Sri Lanka is too often seen abroad in the limited perspective of a purely racial conflict. My party and I, as well as many Sri Lankans of various political persuasions recognise the true and central cause as the steady erosion of the democratic process in the recent past".

Understandably, the ethnic conflict was also the basis of Indian

policy-planning. As I learnt in Delhi last week talking to key figures in the policy-making establishment the assassination of Mr. Abeywardena and Mr. de Mel's bold remarks have encouraged a wider view of the Sri Lankan crisis.

Mr. Gandhi and his top aides have been bombarded with fearful prophecies of Sri Lanka as India's Vietnam or Afghanistan. Both are conscious analogies — certainly after the LTTE's military links with its main supply source and rear-base, Tamilnadu have been effectively cut off. The LTTE cannot count on a China/USSR or on a Pakistan/US.

But there is a quagmire already in the making, and the explanation for that lies in the true, complex and variegated nature of the crisis, both ethnic and societal, cause and consequence.

The Indo Sri Lankan accord represents the first — or the nearest approximation to — formal superpower recognition of India's regional paramountcy and its attendant role as regional crisis-manager. However, the induction of a superior external force has not succeeded in creating greater cohesion of crumbling domestic structures. On the contrary, it may have widened the fissures. The loud discordant voices in the ruling party could be the first signs of a crack-up in governmental structures, the beginning of the end. If the need to save the Accord compels India to shore up this crumbling situation, and thus move southwards, then the regional crisis-manager will have to play the dual Syria-Israel role tacitly accepted together in Lebanon.

If Sri Lanka had been the Philippines or South Korea, the US may have 'managed' the crisis of the UNP's exit through a

restoration of democratic processes. But Sri Lanka is not a strategic US concern or asset. The US has slipped back from No. 1 place as donor, to make way for its most important Asian ally, Japan, the rays of the Rising Sun now falling quite strongly on South Asia, a market of a billion people. How the donor community, also preoccupied with the 'ethnic conflict', will meet the new situation would be interesting to watch. One thing is clear. They have all been rudely awakened to the 'southern dimension' and the totality of the crisis.

Besides, they have no Cory Aquino option. The SLFP is the democratic option and is certainly on the upswing. But it is far from accommodating on the devolution issue. Only Mr. de Mel is for both — devolution and democracy — to make his intellectually splendid lone-voice isolation a symptom of the crisis.

ELECTORAL DE-COMPRESSION

Unless elections of some sort are held soon, the mounting tensions in Sri Lanka's Sinhalese South can take an uncontrollably violent turn far more serious than the volcanic eruption which accompanied the July 29 Peace Accord. That violence was not prolonged. It was confined to Colombo, the city's suburbs and to some urban centres outside the all-important western province. As a result, the portentous implications of the uprising were not fully grasped.

In the light of post-independence mass violence, the non-racial character of the outburst was its most noteworthy feature. The provocation and opportune occasion for the uprising was of course the Jayawardene-Gandhi pact. The general target was the U.N.P. government, State property and the private property of prominent U.N.P. leaders and party stalwarts.

What the explosion signalled was the hitherto undetected growth in Sinhalese society of simmering, sub-surface tensions with an incalculable capacity to suddenly release destructive, disparate and anarchic forces.

The July riots left behind many, connected questions, all disturbing. What did these forces represent? Could they be better organised to operate with more disciplined purpose? If so, by whom? And with what objective?

The dramatic resurgence of the Janatha Vimukti Peramuna (People Liberation Front), the advent of its much broader "front" organisation, the Deshapremi Janatha Viyaparaya (Patriotic Peoples Front) and their astonishing capacity to de-stabilise, so quickly and so demonstratively the once unsailable U. N. P., offer some answers.

What is patently clear anyway is that the system is dangerously over-heated. The need for electoral de-compression is imperative and utterly urgent.

The proposed Provincial Council elections cannot await a return to normalcy in the North and East. Only such polls can help relieve the pressure in the South, and perhaps buy an embattled regime and the Accord, some time.

On the other hand, island-wide parliamentary elections, can save the system and civil society itself, although the result may create new problems for the President and his party. The UNP will certainly lose its massive majority in Parliament, thus robbing the President of his total command over Parliament. That however will be a modest price to pay for saving Sri Lanka from slipping into a state of societal collapse.

Provincial polls early this year will also mean major reverses for the ruling party but that again would only reduce the UNP's power at the periphery, not the President's authority at the centre.

As long as no polls are held, the chances to re-activate a long dormant party system are nil. In the prevailing climate, the temptation for extra-parliamentary adventurism will be great, with the possibilities for insurrectionary or more accurately, putschist moves increasingly high.

ARMY AND MILITIAS

A small, well-knit army, its officers drawn from upper-middle class families and from elite, mainly Christian schools, was an ornamental imperial legacy. For the most part, its functions were ceremonial, only occasionally assisting the police in 'emergencies' such as strikes or food riots.

Before its first encounter with Sinhalese mobs in 1958 the officer in charge of the operation in Colombo, a Sinhalese who had played cricket for Oxford, told the Governor-General that the "rabble deserved a whiff of grapeshot". Which is what he duly and dutifully delivered.

In 1962, 21 top-ranking army, navy and police officers were charged for a coup attempt against Mrs. Bandaranaike's government. None of them were Sinhalese. The two state witnesses were Sinhalese-Buddhists.

The Christian and Tamil plotters were driven to treason by the Government's take-over of the Christian schools which had secured the Church an entrenched position in the island's educational and power structure. The first Sinhalese Buddhist army commander was appointed soon afterwards. Since then the army has steadily become almost 100 per cent Sinhalese.

From Biafra to Fiji, the role of the Army in Third World armed conflicts, often ethnic in character, is clearly a crucial factor. At this stage of state-formation in the "new" world, individual and collective allegiance on emotionally charged issues, follow the fault-lines of language, race and religion. Can the army as an institution, be an exception? When does discipline and professionalism wilt under the emotional pressure of primal loyalties?

The death of 13 Sinhalese soldiers in a land-mine explosion triggered the anti-Tamil violence of July 1983. In the first history of the army, Major-General Anton Mutukumara noted the "ethnic rapport" between the rampaging mobs and the soldiers

ordered to quell the riots. Foreign Minister Hanneke spoke of "mutinous groups".

What did these events portend? Dr. Colvin R. De Silva, socialist party leader, brilliant lawyer and eminent historian gave this answer to the present writer: "The army has been thrust into politics".

The phenomenal post-'83 growth of the armed forces has been marked by loose recruitment procedures. Thousands of unemployed youth joined the queue armed only with an MP's "chit". Ill-disciplined units were disbanded. Where have they gone? Hundreds have deserted with weapons. Was there systematic infiltration, a familiar guerrilla tactic, especially in Latin America?

Besides the rapid expansion of the services, the militarisation process included the creation of para-military groups, elite commando units and assorted militia, some party-controlled, and the extensive use of foreign instructors, intelligence advisers (Israel) and training overseas (Pakistan). Mr. Haleem Isahak, the opposition's only Moslem MP accused the Special Task Force (STF) of using "Israeli 'West Bank' tactics".

Imitating in some ways, its Tamil counterpart, the LTTE, the JVP has made the deep South, a traditional leftist stronghold, its chief base, hoping to convert it soon into "liberated zone". It is "terrorising" UNP activists, killing informers and policemen, collecting weapons, conducting hit-and-run raids on police stations and camps, raising funds and imposing "taxes" on the rich, and crippling the civil administration through death-threats. The newspapers of the State-owned Lake House press is sold by unarmed personnel.

Elsewhere, Lake House newsgroups have been 'persuaded' not to do so. In many towns in the southern coast-line, the JVP has created a climate of fear. The head of the counter-subversion unit, a senior police superintendent was gunned down in broad

daylight in a Colombo suburb. More dramatic and deadlier in effect was the similar attack on the U.N.P. Chairman. Fear is an insidious presence even in Colombo.

In 1971, when Mr. Rohana Wijeweera, a former Lunenburg university medical student who had joined the pro-China C.P., launched a youth insurrection against the newly elected Centre-Left coalition of Mrs. Bandaranaike. It was the wrong war at the wrong time against the wrong enemy. The insurgency was mercilessly crushed. Today there is a right-wing regime that has obviously over-stayed its welcome in the eyes of the vast majority, perhaps the most passionately parliamentarist in the Third world.

The same Sinhalese Buddhist army mowed down the J.V.P. rebels. President Jayewardene, ten years in office, has issued a similar order, publicly, and repeated it personally, in Hambantota, the deep South, 'Eliminate'. Will it be done? Can it be done?

Recognising different and deeper causes for the upsurge of youth violence, Prime Minister Premadasa and Finance Minister Ronnie de Mel, recommend a political-reformist component for the counter-insurgency programme. They point to the soaring unemployment (21%), with a high incidence among semi-educated youth, rising inflation (12%), poverty, food stamps for 30% of Sri Lankan families, malnutrition, indebtedness among the salaried, crime, drugs etc. As usual, the campuses are the foci of youth unrest. Education is "free" but the universities are more closed than open, including the "open university". Mr de Mel stresses the dramatic downturn of the economy after the race riots of 1983, both its deepening and acceleration as well as its externalisation.

But neither the Prime Minister nor Mr de Mel, care to dwell on the UNP's growth strategy and its political concomitants.

The commencement of "the UNP decade" marked a structural rupture with the past the presi-

dential constitution symbolised this 'break' from the three consensual models to which the political leadership and the two or two and a half party system (the traditional left constituting the half) had been fundamentally committed. The consensus embraced three critical areas — the political-constitutional (parliamentary democracy) the economic (a concerned welfareism) and external relations (an independent 'non-alignment').

A STATE OF SEIGE

The 136 to 10 vote on the Bills to implement the Accord is therefore totally deceptive since Parliament is an illusion. Legality is not the same as legitimacy. Of the five lectures Mr Rohana Wijeweera gave to his impressionable young cadres in the late 60's, one was on "Indian expansionism." With the IPKF in such high profile today, it is hardly surprising that a Sinhala-educated youth should regard him as a prophet and rally to his battle-cry now that he has exchanged socialist revolution for a "patriotic war".

The angry young lions may respond to this resonantly patriotic sloganeering but the average Sinhalese demands an answer to a more thoughtful question:

"Why should we support a government that is ready to concede devolution to a minority at the periphery, and that at the point of an AK-47, when it is not prepared to restore democracy to the non-violent majority at the Centre?"

From the start, this was not only the crisis of a multi-ethnic society, refusing to re-structure its polity, but the crisis of a dependant-authoritarian regime and the authoritarian state, remorselessly transformed into a 'National Security State' to become finally a "State of Siege".

Devolution is an aspect of democracy, and authoritarianism the anti-thesis of autonomy, the commonly preferred answer to the problems of aggrieved, region-based nationalities. To resolve the problem piece-meal is impossible.

A military solution is not possible

Mr. Ronnie de Mel said in Parliament that Philippines, where the Muslims living in the southern Island of Mindanao have been agitating for nearly two decades for a separate state. The Philippines have a large and powerful army, much larger than ours.

Notwithstanding the best efforts of the Philippines army, it has not been possible for the Philippines government to suppress the Muslim separatist movement in the South, largely because this movement has received support from some Moslem countries abroad.

President Aquino was therefore compelled, shortly after she assumed office, to proceed personally to Mindanao to negotiate with the rebels and come to an agreement with them. Or take the case of Burma, where the Shan and Karen rebels have been agitating and fighting for separate states for the last forty years.

Burma has a virtually military government. Notwithstanding best military efforts, the Shan and Karen insurgencies still continue.

The same is true of the Kurd separatist movement in Iraq. Iraq is an oil-rich country, with a sophisticated army, and is ruled by a General of that Army. The Iraqis have not, however, succeeded in suppressing the Kurd rebellion by military means. The separatist movements in India provide other examples. On the North-East frontier, a tribal group the Mieros have been fighting for many decades to establish a separatist state. The Indian Army is one of the largest in the world. Yet, it was unable to suppress the separatist movement of Mizoram and PM Rajiv Gandhi eventually decided to sign an Accord with the rebels for the establishment of a separate federal state.

In the Punjab, the Sikhs, who are a very small minority, constituting less than 2 percent of the population of India, are demanding a separate state of Khalistan. The Government of India

decided that this movement could not be eliminated by the use of military force, and for that reason entered into an agreement with the then leader of the main Sikh party, the Akali Dal. This agreement has not, unfortunately, worked out too well in practice, but it was an acknowledgement of the fact that a political, and not a military solution, should be sought for the problem. Sudan, Northern Ireland, Cyprus, all these experiences point to the fact that it is virtually impossible to eliminate separatist movements by purely military means.

In fact, I would go further and say that any type of guerilla movement which has widespread local support, whether it is a separatist movement or not, cannot be brought to heel by military means.

The American Army, the most powerful and sophisticated in the world, learned this lesson in Vietnam, and the Soviet Union is now learning it in Afghanistan. The lesson is a very clear one. Nicaragua, El Salvador, The Central American Peace Plan. A guerrilla movement which enjoys local support and receives substantial assistance from abroad, cannot be destroyed by purely military means. I do not know why our self-proclaimed Dutugemunas think that Sri Lanka can be an exception to this rule. Sri Lanka with its geographical and geo-political situation, with the proximity of Tamil Nadu and South India and from the International Tamil community it is probably the most extreme case.

The only case I can think of in recent years where a separatist guerrilla movement was destroyed by military force is that of the State of Biafra, established by the Ibo tribe in Nigeria. Hundreds of thousands of people were killed or starved to death in the process of destroying this movement by military force, some say two million.

The only reason why the military succeeded in Nigeria was that the Ibos received no support or

assistance from any country abroad. I do not think that, given the geopolitics of the South Asian region, a Biafran-type solution of the Tamil problem would have been feasible in Sri Lanka.

It is inconceivable that India would have permitted such a solution, involving as it would inevitably have done, the massacre of of tens of thousands of innocent civilians. When we attempted a limited military operation in Vadamarachchi, the Indians sent us a rude reminder of this.

What was most surprising was the deafening silence which followed the Indian action. Not a single Government abroad, with, I believe, the sole exception of Pakistan, condemned India's action. If we had attempted a purely military solution of our problems in the North and East, the likely outcome was, not a Biafran-type solution, but a Cyprus-type one.

As the House is aware, Cyprus, like Sri Lanka, is a little island. 80 percent of its population are Greeks who live in the southern part of the island, while 20 percent are Turks who are concentrated in the north. The Turks were fighting for greater autonomy, and the Greeks were unwilling to give in to their demands. A few years ago, Turkey invaded the island, and established a separate Turkish State in the north by force of arms.

Even though Greece was the fountain head of Western culture and civilisation, there was no condemnation of the Turkish action by the West. Does the Leader of the Opposition and other self-proclaimed Dutugemunas in the country imagine that the situation in Sri Lanka would have been different?

Do they think that a Cyprus-style solution of Sri Lanka's problem would have been preferable to the Peace Accord which we have signed, an Accord which has safe-guarded the sovereignty and territorial integrity of our country? Practically every country in the world, has warmly

(Continued on page 25)

Umpire strikes back

Is cricket too serious a business to be left to the players? Or the umpires? Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher obviously thought so. Her Tory party spokesman in the House, Mr. John Eadeham told the House of Commons that the Prime Minister was deeply worried the Gattling — Shakaor Rana fracas in Faisalabad would jeopardise friendly UK-Pakistan relations. In the fair imitation of Maggie's stern manner, Mr. Eadeham said that there could be no excuse for "flouting the authority of umpires, referees or judges". So, skipper Mike Gattling, like a Fifth Form bully forced to apologise to his class teacher for his boorish behaviour wrote "Dear Shakaor Rana, I apologise for the bad language used during the second day of the Test match".

It is right that the British Prime Minister should take the lead. The famous "bodyline" controversy in Jardine-Lariwood's time nearly ruined relations between England and its commonwealth cousin, Australia.

It seems even more fitting that the Umpire in that part of the Em-

pire where the "gentleman's game" is more of a popular sport and passion than in England should strike back. Here in Colombo, when Javed Miandad threw a tantrum — and almost throw his bat at the spectators the incident prompted General Zia ul Huq to despatch a special envoy, A. H. Kader, a former captain, to sort out a row that may have disturbed increasingly close ties between Sri Lanka, whose President had shouted "Free Kashmir Zindabad" and "Free Afghanistan Zindabad", at the frontier, and Pakistan, then Sri Lanka's strongest supporter in the counter-insurgency effort.

It is no secret that patriotic Rana was replying to his English counterpart, David Constant, who was blatantly biased, according to the Pakistani team, when Pakistan toured England earlier in the year.

The Pakistani writer Azhar Karim, puts it all down to Gattling's prejudice, English superiority and the "arrogance of the English cricketing Establishment". To him, it is all a colonialist hang-over.

The Umpire's word is law. Law, mind you, not rule. All other plebeian games have rules while cricket has laws and the law makers reside in a place called Lords. It is the gentleman's game, now forced by unkind circumstance of a money-minded world to compromise its aristocratic values. Competing with other more crowd-pulling sports which last a few hours or a day, not five days, cricket has been so commercialised that the players are no longer gentlemen, merely players, making money on the side with the help of the media and advertising.

But was it ever an aristocratic game with the Umpire's word as holy writ? Neville Cordus, the most famous of cricket writers quotes a fellow player: "The old man cheat? No, sir, he was too clever for that".

Umpires can be lynched (or, worse dropped from future games which make them that extra cash) if they give a local hero out before he had reached a respectable score. And that's not new. The great Jupp made his own rules. At a match in Dorking, his home, Jupp was bowled

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Fr. Michael Rodrigo — A 'living dialogue' silenced

We, who worked with the late Fr. Michael Rodrigo and were his friends are deeply grieved by his untimely death at the hands of an assassin. His death was blow to the cause of the poor and their struggle for a fully human life. He was another victim of the cult of violence which is so widespread in our country. We urge that the circumstances of his assassination be fully investigated.

Fr. Michael Rodrigo OMI was a senior priest of the Church with very high academic attainments. He was not only a highly qualified Christian Theologian but, also someone who had a deep knowledge and appreciation of Buddhism and other religions.

He was a Professor at the National Seminary in Ampitiya for many years. The Second Vatican Council encouraged him to exercise a different ministry within the Church. He worked very closely with all Christians irrespective of Church affiliation and he endeavoured to work with people of all faiths in order to serve humanity. He often spoke of a "living dialogue" among people of different faiths.

With these objectives in mind he started a very small humble centre in Alukalavita in Buttala and identified himself with the poor people of that area. Two religious sisters who appreciated his objectives joined him in his effort. For him there was no barrier between the truly spiritual life and worship on the one hand, and social action on the other. The deeply committed Christian must find himself involved in society as Jesus Christ himself was.

Fr. Michael worked closely with the poor people in the village of Alukalavita in Buttala. He tried to work out with them an understanding of the situation in which they were, so that they may identify the forces that keep them poor and work for their true human development with their own resources.

This is a task which the poor and those who sympathised with them greatly appreciated, but at the same time there were others who

could not see the importance of what he was trying to do or felt threatened by his activities.

We affirm that it is the duty of Christian people both clergy and laity to be committed to work for the oppressed and poor in our country, and to work for peace and justice among all our people, however great the difficulties they have to face may be.

Some of us went to the village of Alukalavita in Buttala where Fr. Michael's Centre Suba Seth Gedera was, a week after his death, for an alms-giving arranged in his memory by the village people. Bhikkus from 4 temples in the area were present and 2 of them spoke very movingly of his life and service and dialogue with them. Village people, young and old, also spoke of their deep grief and at the same time, deep appreciation of all Fr. Michael and his colleagues had been in solid service as well as deep humanity to the people in the area. Again they called for another "Father" to come in his place and carry on the work with the sisters.

We call upon all persons of goodwill to be vigilant and to ensure that the poor are not deprived of the service of those who have their cause at heart. We thank God for the life and example of Fr. Michael and pledge ourselves to continue the work he so courageously undertook.

Rt. Rev. Andrew Kumara, Fr. Anslem Silva O.M.I., Fr. M. Rupersinghe O.M.I., Fr. Tissa Balasuriya O.M.I. Centre for Society & Religion, Fr. S. J. Emmanuel, Rector, St. Francis Xavier Seminary, Jaffna, Rev. Kenneth Fernando, Ecumenical Institute for Study and Dialogue, Rev. Yohan Devananda, Lay Institute, Pilimatalawa, Rev. Canon Christopher Ratnayake, Rev. Canon John Isaac, Fr. Meris Peiris, National seminary Ampitiya, Rev. Dr. Paul Benjamin, Theological College, Pilimatalawa, Rev. Sydney Knight, Theological College, Pilimatalawa, Fr. Nihal Abeyasinghe, Fr. Kamillus Cooray, National Seminary, Ampitiya, Fr. Emmanuel Fernando, National Seminary, Ampitiya, Rev. Jayasiri Peiris, Rev. Nirmal Mendis, Rev. Nicolas Rose, Fr. M. Catalano S. J., Fr. Joseph E. Fernando S. J., Fr. Wilfred Munacunge S. J., Fr. Paul Cospersz S. J., Fr. Aloy Vanderwall S. J., Fr. Justin C. Silva, Lakrivi Movement, Colombo, Fr. Dudley Attanayake, Gami Saviya, Fr. Sarath Idda-

malgoda, Janawabhodaya, Negombo, Fr. Noel Dias, Rev. Lionel Peiris, Rev. Kingsley Muttiah, Rev. Premasiri Fernando, Rev. Dr. Rienzie Perera, Theological College, Pilimatalawa, Bro. Ajith Hodley, Bro. Terrance Preman Fernando, Bro. Vijitha Rohana, Bro. Wickrama Fonseka, Bro. Malmum Perera, Bro. S. Emmanuel Pillai, Bro. Shermel Jayawardena, Bro. Lionel Fernando, Sis. Winifreda H.F., Bro. Jude Lal Fernando, Sis. Romani Fernando, Sis. Matilda, Sis. M. Prudentine, Sis. Cleophas Themel, Sis. Vivian, Sis. Angela Fernando, Newton Fernando, President, Catholic Union, Ranjith de Silva, Gami Seva Sevana Galaha, Roy Perera, Gami Seva Sevana Galaha, Vijaya Vidyasagara, Secretary, Christian Workers Fellowship, Kingsley Perera, Kamkaru Sevana Ratmalana, Sarath Fernando, Devasarana Development Centre, Marshal Fernando, Ecumenical Institute, Lakshman Gunasekera Student Christian Movement, Chitra Fernando, National Christian Council, Dept. of Education, Nimalka Fernando, National Christian Council, Development Commission, Tyrol Ferdinands, National Christian Council, Youth Committee, Paul Perera, Community Education Centre, Malabe, Freddi Christo Gamage, Janawabhodaya Centre, Negombo, Audrey Rebera, National Christian Council, Women's Commission, Bernadeen Silva, Centre for Society and Religion, A. P. Samarajeewa, Attorney at Law, Jagath Fernando, E. P. Fernando, A. H. Buckshimier, Kingsley Andrathi, Gami Amarasekera, Suneetha Wijetunga, K. T. G. Fernando, Ananda Lal Liyanage, June Barchelot, Buela Fernando, Piyadasa Muthugala, Anton Obeysekera, Yvonne Siriwardena, G. Kelart, Victor Fernando, Collin Bernard, L. T. Fernando, Camillas Joseph, Margaret Perera, Lanka Gunaratne, Premalal Fernando, Britto Motha, Mari Fernando.

Umpire strikes...

(Continued from page 7)

first ball. He bent low, picked up the ball and calmly replacing it, and waited for the next ball. "Aren't you going out Juppy" asked the rival skipper. "No said Jupp, not at Dorking". Dr. Grace had a point. The crowd had come to watch him bat, not the umpire umpiring.

Imran Khan used 'neutral umpires' against the West Indies in 1986. Sunil Gavaskar and Gary Sobers recommend the same remedy. It is right that nonaligned South Asia should champion the idea of neutrality. Perhaps SAARC can take it up?

Fundamental rights

1987: Amnesty Int. encouraged but. . .

Amnesty International's 1987 report says that A.I., the best known world-wide monitoring group of human rights violations, "has been encouraged to note that 1,100 detainees have been released from army camps in southern Sri Lanka" and 25 others from the east.

A.I. has also "welcomed the government's decision to disband the Home Guards". It sees the release of Fr. Singarayer, A.I.'s only "adopted prisoner of conscience" as a "positive development". However, A.I. remains greatly perturbed by the fact that thousands of political suspects "have been arrested under PTA and Emergency, and held for months without trial, often for long periods of incommunicado detention". Meanwhile, a group of Tamil lawyers has decided to file action in the Supreme Court "for the extension of the amnesty granted under the Indo Sri Lanka accord to cover Sinhala political prisoners in the South...."

Excerpts from the A.I. report follow.

Amnesty International has expressed concern about human rights abuses which have occurred in Sri Lanka in recent years, including torture, "disappearances", executions and detention without trial.

Amnesty International welcomes the amnesty for political prisoners incorporated in the 29 July agreement between Sri Lanka and India on the Tamil question in Sri Lanka. The agreement provides for devolution of power to the north and east, where most Tamils live. The area is to be combined into one provincial council. In recent years, armed Tamil groups sought to establish a separate state for the Tamil community. The July 1987 arrangement includes provisions whereby all armed groups must lay down arms.

Amnesty International has been encouraged to note that a total of 1100 detainees have been

released from army camps in southern Sri Lanka and that a further 25 Tamil detainees are reported to have been released from the eastern province. The organization has asked for full details of the government's release program. It also has inquired whether two specific groups of Sinhalese and Tamil prisoners indicted in separate cases with conspiracy to overthrow the government and other charges under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and the Emergency Regulations, would also be released. The amnesty covers other political prisoners under the two laws.

The July agreement expresses the government's intention to protect the safety of all Sri Lankan citizens and Amnesty International has asked whether the government is taking steps to ensure that normal legal safeguards will now be fully restored. To prevent further

human rights abuses, Amnesty International has asked the government to reinstate the requirement that all arrested persons be brought before a magistrate within 24 hours of arrest and that they be given immediate and regular access to lawyers.

Amnesty International has welcomed the government's decision to disband the Home Guards who along with the Special Task Force have been reported responsible for extrajudicial killings and for "disappearances". The organization has recorded over 550 cases of "disappearances" in Sri Lanka to date. It is hoped that some of them—who Amnesty International believes are held in unacknowledged detention in various Special Task Force camps—will finally be released. The government has been asked to search for and account for the "disappeared" people.

Amnesty International's only adopted prisoner of conscience, Father A. Singarayer, has been released from Welikade prison and this is a positive development to report.

Arbitrary killings of hundreds of Tamil civilians, often in reprisal for attacks by armed Tamil groups, continued to be reported as armed conflict between such groups and government forces intensified. A major concern was the "disappearance" of well over 300 young Tamil men during the last three years; a number of them were feared to have died as a result of secret shootings in army or police custody or as a result of torture, which was widespread. Thousands of political suspects were arrested under the Prevention Terrorism Act (PTA) and Emergency Regulations. Many were held for

several years without trial, often after long periods of incommunicado detention. The majority were Tamils, but increasing numbers were Sinhalese suspected to links with armed Tamil groups or involvement in alleged attempts to overthrow the government. Amnesty International was also concerned about courts trying political suspects under special PTA procedures with changed rules of evidence.

Armed Tamil groups seeking a separate Tamil state in the north and east of the country increased their activities, particularly in eastern Sri Lanka, killing hundreds of security forces personnel in combat. They abducted and killed dozens of alleged "informers" and several Tamil civilians, including some political leaders. Armed Tamil groups also acknowledge responsibility for killing unarmed Sinhalese civilians in capital Colombo and in villages in eastern Sri Lanka; some of these killings were said to be in reprisal for widespread extrajudicial killing of Tamil civilians by the army. Special Task Force (STF) of the police and the paramilitary "home guards" in the north and east. In its communications to the government during 1986 Amnesty International stressed that, as a matter of principle, it condemned the torture or execution of prisoners by anyone, including armed opposition groups. It emphasized, however, that such acts of violence could never justify the security forces themselves resorting to torture, extrajudicial killings and "disappearances", practices then widely reported throughout Sri Lanka.

Amnesty International received hundreds of reports that people taken away by members of the security forces "disappeared"; officials subsequently denied knowledge of their arrest or whereabouts or stated that they had been released. On 10 September Amnesty International launched a campaign and published a report, "Disappearances" in Sri Lanka, the text of which had previously been presented to the President and the Minister of National Security with a request for comments. Amnesty

International urged the government to explain what had happened to 272 people reported to have "disappeared" between June 1983 and April 1986. All but one of the "disappeared" were Tamil. Many were farmers, labourers and fishermen, often from poor families. Others were students and civil servants and one was Roman Catholic priest, Father Mary Bastian, who was killed, according to witnesses, by soldiers on 5 January 1985. His death was initially reported in an information Department press release two days later, but was subsequently officially denied. Amnesty International said that it had evidence in all these cases that the "disappeared" had been taken away by members of the army, air force or in the Eastern Province, by the STF. In a few instances, members of the paramilitary "home guards" were allegedly responsible. The "disappeared" were reportedly taken to camps and police stations in Amparai, Batticaloa, Jaffna, Mannar, Trincomalee and Vavuniya districts.

In one case, eye-witnesses reported that at least 28 young men were taken away from Naipattimunai and other villages in the Kalmunai area in the Amparai district on 17 May 1985 by STF personnel. There was evidence that the STF shot and killed them and disposed of their bodies in secret, but the government reportedly denied that they had been arrested or shot, although it failed to explain what had happened to them. Paul Nallanayagam, President of the Kalmunai Citizens Committee, who had made on-the-spot investigations, was arrested the day after he had spoken to journalists about the incident and was charged with spreading rumours or false statements (see *Amnesty International Report 1986*). During his trial, which took place between March and July and ended in his acquittal, the High Court judge found that the evidence which was produced "cast a serious doubt on the prosecution case that no arrests took place at Naipattimunai by the STF officials on 17 May 1985".

In its report, Amnesty International called on the government to establish speedy and independent investigations into the whereabouts of the "disappeared" and to inform their relatives immediately. It also recommended that the government set up a regularly updated central register of arrest to which lawyers, relatives and the courts could have immediate access and that security personnel found responsible for "disappearances" should be prosecuted. By the end of 1986, 72 more "disappearances" had been reported to Amnesty International.

On 25 September the government stated that the report was "one-sided and ignored counter-affidavits the government had filed with the United Nations". However, despite four urgent requests by Amnesty International to the Minister of National Security in September and October, the government failed to make available the information it had given the UN and Amnesty International was therefore unable to comment publicly on it. The Chairman of the official Media Centre suggested that Amnesty International should bring cases of "disappearances" before the Sri Lankan courts so that the government could cross-examine witnesses. In response, Amnesty International emphasized that it was the government's responsibility to investigate and clarify "disappearances", a duty the UN had also underlined. Amnesty International said witnesses risked repercussions if their testimonies implicated security forces personnel in "disappearances". It urged the government to invite the UN Working Group on Enforced or Involuntary Disappearances to visit Sri Lanka but by the end of 1986 it had not visited the country nor had the International Committee of the Red Cross been given permission to carry out protection activities there. In December the government reportedly asked an official body to maintain a register of missing persons but Amnesty International received no reply to its request for information on this. Amnesty International's various requests to the President and

Minister of National Security to visit Sri Lanka to discuss its concerns also received no response.

By the end 1986, Amnesty International had been able to clarify only three "disappearances": two people had been found to be imprisoned in Welikada prison, Colombo, awaiting trial, and a third had been released from Boosa Army Camp after seven months' unacknowledged detention. The UN Working Group on Disappearances had considered 326 cases by the end of 1986; despite a government response on 212 cases, the Working Group said only five had been resolved and the fate and whereabouts of 321 people remained unclear.

There were continuing reports, particularly from eastern Sri Lanka, that unarmed Tamils had been shot dead deliberately in reprisal for attacks by Tamil separatist groups on security forces personnel and civilians. In a report released in April on extrajudicial killings in Sri Lanka from September 1985 to March 1986, Amnesty International described in detail 10 such incidents. The organization had dozens of eye-witness accounts describing how Tamil men were taken out of their houses to be shot, often within sight of their relatives. Although some inquests were held, Amnesty International recommended that the government order an independent body to

investigate alleged extrajudicial killings to determine criminal responsibility. Officials often stated that Tamil civilians were killed "during a shoot-out" or by armed Tamil groups, but in many cases Amnesty International had evidence that they were in fact victims of extrajudicial killings by the security forces. One example was the killing of Brother M. Wenceslaus on 20 June at the Tholakkatt Monastery, Jaffna. The next day, the government announced that he had been killed by "Tamil terrorists". However, three witnesses testified during an inquest that they saw between 10 and 50 soldiers going towards the shed where Brother Wenceslaus was working and then heard a gun shot. One witness testified that he saw soldiers speak to Brother Wenceslaus and hit him before hearing the fatal shot. The inquest returned a verdict of homicide. Amnesty International was not aware of any action by the police to identify those responsible in this and many similar cases of alleged extrajudicial executions by security forces personnel, hundreds of which were reported during 1986.

WOMEN TOO

Thousands of suspects, mainly Tamils but also Sinhalese, were arrested and held without trial under the PTA. Some were released within weeks of arrest but others were kept in prolonged

detention. Many of these were initially held incommunicado, others for periods exceeding legal maximum of 18 months. Many were then held under Emergency Regulations permitting indefinite detention without trial. Thousands were transferred to prisons or camps in the south. At the end of 1986 over 2,500 people were officially reported to be detained in Boosa Army Camp, the largest camp in the south. Among the detainees were seven women and a 14 year old girl.

An increasing number of arrests in the south of both Tamils and Sinhalese were reported. By the end of 1986 over 400 Sinhalese were estimated to be detained under the PTA and Emergency Regulations, among them Pulsara Liyanage, a lecturer at Kelaniya University arrested on 1 November. She was one of 60 people described by "Sinhala extremists, believed to have links with northern terrorist groups". They included of left-wing groups, among them the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna Nava Pravachayaya (JVP NP), New Tendency, and the Sama Jawadi Janavayapaya (SJV), Socialist People's Movement. They had not been charged or tried by the end of 1986. Among the others arrested were students detained for putting up posters opposing government policies.

(Continued on page 13)

Tamil lawyers want Supreme Court to free Sinhala prisoners

A group of Tamil lawyers in Colombo will shortly file action in the Supreme Court, seeking an order for the extension of the general amnesty granted under the Indo Lanka Peace accord to cover Sinhala political prisoners in the South.

According to informed sources the action will be filed under Article 126 of the Constitution, which deals with the fundamental rights of citizens.

Section 2 (ii) of the accord states:

"The President of Sri Lanka will grant a general amnesty to political prisoners now held in

custody under the Prevention of Terrorism Act and other emergency laws, and to combatants, as well as to those persons accused, charged and/or convicted under those laws."

A spokesman for the group of lawyers said that although the accord stipulates a general amnesty, none of the Sinhala political prisoners held under PTA or emergency regulations were released. He told the Sunday Times that according to the Attorney-General's Interpretation, only persons from the North and the East held under the PTA and emergency could be released under the accord.

He said that they made several representations to the Attorney-General.

The first fundamental rights application to the Supreme Court will be made by Mr M. Underwood. The Court's decision will determine whether the rest will be proceeded with alternatively, other means of seeking redress for all PTA prisoners would be explored. As one lawyer put it, "How can a man convicted of political killing be granted amnesty while another suspected of wanting to carry out anti-government actions is held in custody."

— Sunday Times

The M.G.R. Factor

At the interface of India's external and domestic concerns, the Sri Lankan Tamil issue was Delhi's most striking and vexed inter-mestic problem. Equally obvious was that M.G.R. personified what American international relations pundits call 'linkage politics'. That fact, uncontested by opponent or neutral, was founded on M.G.R.'s charisma and remarkable political career. The shock waves that swept Tamilnadu when the news of his death was known to millions of his ardent supporters in the early hours of Dec. 25, were soon followed by milling grief-stricken crowds, wailing women, mobs on the rampage in Madras and many young men and women finding refuge from their sorrow and distress in self-immolation.

M. G. R.'s extraordinary mass appeal and his firm hold, even from his hospital bed, on the politics of this important state was undeniable. It is precisely for this reason that his death, so singularly untimely becomes a major worry for Prime Minister Gandhi.

Just a week before his death Rajiv was in Madras to receive from his own party loyalists a book which the Congress 'I' local command claimed had 5 million signatures from Tamilnadu voters, all endorsing the Accord he signed with President Jayewardene. Drawing great comfort and confidence from M.G.R.'s unwavering support and from the success of the signature campaign, Mr. Gandhi launched his own offensive against the LTTE. He said.

"We cannot allow the agreement to become a flop just because the LTTE does not want it. We cannot allow the LTTE to hold the Tamils to ransom. We will not allow the LTTE to sabotage the Indo-Sri Lanka accord."

The main item on Mr. Gandhi's two-day visit to this important southern state was an unveiling

ceremony — a life-size bronze statue of S. Sathyamurti, the respected freedom fighter.

If Sathyamurti was a redoubtable figure in the advance guard of the freedom struggle Mr. Annadurai was the main post-Independence spokesman of a resurgent Tamil nationalism. And it is his mantle that MGR, who played the poor man's champion in block-buster movies, chose to wear in the parliamentary arena after a bitter factional feud with his arch rival, Mr. Karunanidhi. He named his party 'Anna' D.M.K. But the struggle for personal dominance and control of the nationalist movement and State politics did not cease.

Both M.G.R. and Indira Gandhi resorted to tactical moves and alliances which found them on opposite sides, with Mrs. Gandhi working in concert with Karunanidhi, MGR with the Janata opposition and government, and Mrs. G., characteristically, proceeding to teaching MGR a lesson by peremptorily removing him from office.

Not so the MGR-Rajiv relationship. It has been steady and the friendship steadfast and warm. What Sri Lankans should note is that this relationship was probably more important to Mr. Gandhi than to MGR. Even when he rose to power on a surging wave of sympathy in 1984, Mr. Gandhi didn't do too well in the South.

Today, Tamilnadu is the **only** state south of the Hindi belt that Mr. Gandhi can really count on. It is of the utmost importance to his success. Perhaps even his survival at the next polls. His recent threat to remove State governments that endangered 'national interests' provoked a storm of countrywide protests, prompting many Indian analysts to discuss the perils of Centre-State confrontation for the Indian system.

In striking contrast to the situation here Mr. Gandhi, succeeded in building a broad parliamentary consensus for the Indo-Sri Lanka Accord. There are critics, some quite vociferous and aggressive, but most questioning the implementation than the act itself. So far this consensus has held, and Tamilnadu is the cornerstone of that consensual support. And Tamilnadu, for all practical purposes, meant M.G.R.

There are 3 candidates, for the job. The senior man was called by the Governor, but the jockeying may have started as the obsequies ended.

Of the three front-runners, Food Minister Ramachandran is closest to Mr. Gandhi, and was carefully groomed by the Congress for the top post. However the two warring factions are led respectively by his two other 'loves' besides politics and the movies — his wife Janaki and his paramour Jayalalitha. The latter, though treated shabbily at the scene of the final ceremonies, is quite a formidable figure. (See Box **Jayalalitha carried out**)

The Congress I has some 60 seats in the Assembly, a fairly strong card in the parliamentary numbers-game. Besides, Mr. Gandhi can even force fresh elections. All he has to fear is a Chief Minister who does not toe his Sri Lanka line. Or a Karunanidhi who takes up the Sri Lanka issue to bolster his own claims as the true champion of the Tamil cause. And the LTTE did make such tentative gestures in that direction when MGR stood by Gandhi and the Accord, while giving the 'Tigers' some spending money, MGR's generous and compulsive habit. The LTTE Chief Mr. Prabhakaran in a warm tribute referred to MGR's generous support for the Tamil cause and his personal patronage. MGR was Prabhakaran's Godfather. But Kittu was not allowed to place a wreath in a final LTTE bow to the MGR who more than any other non-Sri Lankan played a strategic role in the Sri Lankan conflict.

Jayalalitha carried out

MADRAS, Dec. 25

AIADMK propaganda secretary Jayalalitha, a strong contender for MGR's throne, was on Friday manhandled and physically removed from Rajaji Hall shortly before MGR's funeral procession started.

The incident occurred a few minutes after MGR's body was placed on the gun carriage. Ms. Jayalalitha, who had got on to the carriage, sat down beside the body. However, army personnel, who had laid the body in the carriage, asked her to get down and helped her alight.

She then proceeded to get into the pick-up truck towing the carriage when all of a sudden an MLA, Dr. K. P.

Ramalingam of the R. M. Veerappan group, broke away from a crowd of party leaders standing a few feet away and charged down to the carriage.

"How can she sit there? Bring her down," he screamed, trying to pull her down by grabbing her hand. Interim Chief Minister V. R. Nedunchezhiyan and Home Secretary T. V. Venkataraman rushed there, even as some security men tried to push Dr. Ramalingam away.

Meanwhile, Deepan alias Raja, an actor and nephew of MGR's wife Janaki, got down from a nearby truck and jumped on to the pick-up truck and pushed Jayalalitha off the steps.

While some policeman sup-

ported Jayalalitha, Deepan snatched a small cardboard box from the pick-up truck, tucked it firmly under his arm and ran back to his truck.

The propaganda secretary was by this time taken away from the melee and escorted by security men to the rear entrance of Rajaji Hall.

Jayalalitha, who till then had managed to keep her cool, started screaming "Who are they (to do this to me)!" But, unmindful of her shouts, the security men roughly bundled her into her white Contessa, slammed the door and took her straight back to her residence in Poes Garden.

She did not attend MGR's burial.

(Indian Express)

1987: Amnesty...

(Continued from page 11)

Of the estimated 100 Tamils of Indian origin arrested between 1983 and September 1986, 60 were still detained at the end of 1986 in Welikada prison, Colombo and Bogambara prison, Kandy. Of these, 22 had been held for nearly two years without charge or trial and were among over 200 Tamil detainees held under the PTA whose cases had been taken up by Amnesty International for investigation. Most claimed they had been tortured.

Over 100 Tamil detainees were reportedly tried under the PTA on charges of failing to give information to the police about the activities of armed Tamil groups or of creating hatred amongst communities. They were given prison sentences ranging from several weeks to five years. Amnesty International was con-

cerned that many of them were reportedly convicted on the basis of "confessions" allegedly obtained under torture by the police or army.

Statements made to the police are normally not admissible as evidence in the courts, but PTA permits such statements and places the burden on the accused to prove that statements were made under duress.

Amnesty International continued to receive allegations of torture at various police stations and army camps. Released prisoners stated that they had beaten, often on the soles of the feet, hung upside down, forced to inhale burning chilli fumes and burnt with cigarettes.

Female detainees said they had been beaten, had had police batons forced into their vaginas and had been raped. Torture was also reported from Boosa Army Camp

where prisoners were reportedly held in unhygienic conditions without medical treatment. Detainees were reportedly beaten with pipes, sometimes resulting in broken limbs, had chilli powder applied to sensitive parts of the body, and both male and female detainees complained of sexual abuse.

Amnesty International to oppose the deportation of Tamils to Sri Lanka by other governments. Several Tamils were detained, apparently for short periods, on arrival in Colombo after being returned against their will from France, Switzerland and Australia where they had sought political asylum.

On 16 October a Dutch national, Cornelius Stephanus Vanderhulst, was sentenced to death for attempting to smuggle heroin. No executions have been carried out since the present government assumed office in 1977.

Call for national consensus in Lanka

NEW DELHI

MONITORING BODY

TAMIL militants and social activists from Sri Lanka and Indian academics specialising in the island's politics today called for a national consensus in the island republic torn with ethnic conflict.

Participating in a discussion at the Press Club of India on the current developments in Sri Lanka, Mr L. Keetheswaran, spokesman of the EPRLF, the militant Tamil group with entrenched bases in the eastern province, said no external agency would be able to bring about peace unless the Sinhala and the Tamils came to a national consensus through the democratic process.

Prof Urmila Phadnis of the Jawaharlal Nehru university said the IPKF was saddled with an unenviable job, and was fighting with its hands tied to its backs. The Indian force would however, have to involve as many civilians as possible in the reconstruction work, she stated.

To facilitate the process of national consensus, she also saw a strong need for interaction between non-governmental groups in India and Sri Lanka.

Prof Phadnis also underlined that all eggs must not be put only in the "Jayewardene basket" for implementing the India-Sri Lanka accord. She urged mediation involving the various opposition parties and groups on the island.

Father T. Balasuriya of the Centre for Religion and Society in Colombo and joint secretary of Citizen's Council for National Harmony agreed with other speakers that it was of the utmost importance that the democratic process be restored in Sri Lanka.

The social activist agreed that Tamils were an oppressed minority, but the coming in of the IPKF was seen by the Sinhala majority as an invasion from the north, he observed.

He said supporters of the accord in the Sinhala-dominated south were in real trouble as they were seen to be siding with invaders.

Fr Balasuriya suggested a monitoring body to ensure that the IPKF did not become a "law unto itself". Such a body could have representatives of the two governments, or of citizens' committees, or even the International Red Cross, he added.

Both Prof Phadnis and Mr Keetheswaran spoke of the need for amnesty for political prisoners in Sri Lanka.

Mr Keetheswaran said that at the time of the signing of the accord in July, there were about 5,000 Tamil political prisoners in Sri Lanka. Some 1,250 of them are still incarcerated at the Boosa camp the New Magazine prison, Colombo and the Pelawatte army camp.

Those not released were victims of pure chance, the EPRLF leader noted. He said the LTTE began unleashing violence after the signing of the accord and Colombo took the view that no more prisoners should be released.

The release of prisoners was part of the accord, Mr Keetheswaran emphasised. He also referred to the two cases of the Group of 23 and the Group of 44.

'STRANGE LOGIC'

The former were supporters of the EPRLF, and included its general secretary, Mr Padmanabha. They had been arraigned for conspiracy against the state. The official Sri Lanka stand was that these 23 could enjoy amnesty if they confined themselves to the northern and eastern provinces. This was strange logic, the EPRLF leader commented.

The Group of 44 were Sinhala supporters of the Tamil militant group, PLOTE, and were charged under the same sections as the Group of 23. If under the accord Tamils could, in principle, be given amnesty, why should the same principle not apply to Sinhala, the EPRLF leader asked.

Mr Keetheswaran also noted that the plantation Tamils, who were stateless subjects, did not

figure in the India-Sri Lanka accord. Whether in conditions of hostility or of peace, they were the worst affected Tamils, he added.

Mr Keetheswaran said the LTTE was not a patriotic force and was being manipulated by external agents, who acted as intermediaries for the US, Britain, Israel and Pakistan. The Indian policy, which he characterised as appeasement of the LTTE, would not succeed, he added.

He said the Bill, containing the devolutionary package, placed before parliament by the Sri-Lankan government did not meet the aspirations of the Tamil people and did not even correspond to the blueprint hammered out by Colombo with the help of Indian experts.

Since the Tamil groups could not support the Bill, it was impossible for them to ask the people to prepare for provincial council elections. Even if such an appeal were to be made by the groups which had supported the accord (all except the LTTE), there would be no Tamil candidates prepared to fight the election, he added.

Dr C. Rajmohan of the Institute for Defence Studies and Analysis also noted that the IPKF could not bring about national consensus, but could only try to create certain conditions for it.

In an incisive intervention on conflicts in developing countries, he noted that from Lebanon to Fiji, the conflicts in all developing countries began to lay stress on rights of minorities, internal democratisation and political pluralism.

It was on this basis that an Afghan solution was also being attempted, he noted.

He said the Indian policy on Sri Lanka should be appreciated for avoiding the Cyprus-type solution, which would have meant truncating the country.

(Times of India)

Centralization — the crux of the crisis

At least after 1983, the ethnic issue and armed conflict emerged and doggedly remained the dominant issue in the Sri Lanka mind, and in the continuing discussion and debate. Both at the popular level and higher up at the level of scholarship and academic analysis and commentary, the national crisis was examined in terms of discrimination, and domination the rights of national minorities, including "homeland" claims and concepts, and "devolution", as a solution — whether viable or not, and how much and in what form.

The events this fortnight, the culmination of accelerating processes, expose the obvious limitations of this analytical framework in grasping the totality of the Sri Lankan crisis, if such intellectual limitations were not in fact self-imposed through the ethnic bias and self-centred interests of both Sinhala and Tamil analysts and academic specialists. A somewhat different perspective on the Sri Lankan crisis was presented in an article published in two parts in the editorial page of the International Herald Tribune on April 23/24 1986. The following are excerpts from these articles titled **"Repression in the Guise of Stability"** and **"Centralising hasn't brought consensus"**.

U.S. policy-makers who some times spend sleepless nights counting Third World dominoes should spare an hour for the State Department's latest human rights report. It says that "those who try to justify subordinating political and civil rights on the ground of concentrating on their economic aspirations invariably deliver neither."

This is a guarded elaboration of a Benigno Aquino dictum. "The trade off," he said "no longer works." The Philippine opposition leader was reflecting on the persistent failure of regimes that don authoritarian clothing in the name of development. The result, he noted was "political repression and economic depression."

While the ability to deliver falls increasingly short of promise and popular expectation "stability," and the International Monetary Fund's companion term, "stabilization," become sanitized code-words for repressive rule.

While Corazon Aquino was awaiting her final moment of triumph, the widow of another assassinated Asian leader was addressing a packed stadium in Colombo. Srimavo Bandaranaike, a former prime minister, demanded that President Junius Jayawardene (whose regime extended its parliamentary term until 1989 after a disputed referendum), hold a "free and fair election" this year.

In Bangladesh, the daughter and widow of two assassinated presidents are threatening to launch a civil disobedience campaign if proposed polls turn out to be a fraud. In Pakistan, unrest fomented by the widow and daughter of Prime Minister Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, who was hanged by the martial law regime, finally forced General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq to give his military administration a parliamentary facade. And now Bhutto's daughter, Benazir, has returned home to lead the struggle for real democracy.

These events celebrate more than women's liberation in tradi-

tion bound Asia. They are signals of powerful popular stirrings — as South Korea may confirm by decade's end.

There are other examples of this in Latin America, where the generals and the admirals are back in the barracks or languishing in jail. Their "stability" did not deliver.

As far back as 1966, stability was Mr. Jayawardene's main prescription for Third World ills. Development, he argued required a strong centralized executive which, "free from the whims and fancies of Parliament," could make unpopular but necessary economic decisions while preserving political stability.

Prime Minister Jayewardene soon became President Jayawardene under a new constitution. Its main feature was an unparalleled concentration of power in the presidency. While foreign scholars termed the new system "Bonapartist-Gaullist" or a "benevolent authoritarianism," its architect rejoiced, saying that he was "more powerful than king Parakramabahu the Great."

In 1980 a special presidential commission found Mrs. Bandaranaike guilty of "abuses of power," offenses hitherto unknown to the law. She was stripped of her civic rights for seven years and expelled from Parliament.

In hindsight, the most notable victim was the Tamil community, the target of periodic outbursts of racial violence.

The ruling party's 1977 manifesto summed up the Tamil problem with exceptional candor. Long-standing grievances — language, land distribution, economic and educational opportunities — had led the Tamils, it conceded, to "support even the movement for a separate state."

If serious attention had been paid to those grievances, bourgeois Tamil political leaders would surely have settled for regional autonomy.

The constitution did give the Tamil language a special status. But district development councils, the crucial corrective exercise in devolution, were a hopeless failure. They had no real power and lacked funds. Their first elections provoked Tamil allegations of fraud and violence by "storm troopers" from the ruling party.

"For the young militant, this was the turning point," said opposition leader Appapillai Amirthalingam, now in exile in Madras.

The process of centralizing power and de-legitimizing the moderate democratic "middle," both Sinhalese and Tamil, was soon completed.

Mr. Jayewardene won a second term in October 1982. Yet Mrs. Bandaranaike's party minus her, remarkably well polling 2.6 million votes to his 3.5 million. A referendum was held instead, in

December 1982 under a state of emergency. In the process, a vibrant democracy became a closed system.

Instead of the promised elections, July 1983 brought a racial explosion. An amendment to the constitution required all members of Parliament to disavow separatism. The 14 Tamils left it, robbing Parliament of all credibility in Tamil eyes.

The economy is under the severest strain. Tourism has been badly hurt and investment is drying up, while arms spending has trebled in two years. Debt-servicing may absorb 25 percent of export income next year just when commodity prices (tea, rubber and coconut are the main crops) have slumped. With a third of the population living on food stamps (worth \$20 monthly) and prices rising steadily, economic

and trade union unrest may introduce instability into the Sinhalese south. "The worst year since independence" is the finance minister's bleak prediction.

Western donors, distressed by the harrowing conflict and the darkening human rights picture, support India's call for a negotiated settlement. But the government, knowing the people's mood and fearing a backlash in the south, cannot make an offer acceptable even to the moderate Tamils. Only Sinhalese consensus can sustain a viable compromise.

Mrs. Bandaranaike is the key to that consensus. The Sinhalese opposition demands the restoration of democracy as firmly as the Tamils demand decentralization and devolution. Both are the antithesis of the "centralization of power" that was to have opened new vistas for Sri Lanka.

— Mervyn de Silva

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THE ACCORD AND AFTER

Elections a 'must' for Indian policy

Urmila Phadnis (Professor, Nehru University)

In the four months that have gone by since the Indo Sri Lanka Agreement was signed, a series of political developments has taken place which highlights the nature of obstacles likely to block the implementation of the provisions of the Agreement pertaining to the Sinhala-Tamil ethnic conflict. There is the continuing militant opposition of the LTTE which indefinitely delays the return to a modicum of normality in the Northern and Eastern Provinces, a precondition to the implementation of the Agreement. There is, on the other hand, the absence of Sinhala consensual support to the provisions of the Agreement which poses a high degree of uncertainty in the implementation of the crucial clauses pertaining to the devolution of powers to the Provincial Councils and also the unit of devolution in the Tamil areas. This, moreover, casts doubt on the ability of the Sri Lankan Government to evolve a mechanism for the management of the ethnic conflict which will be effective and at the same time durable.

So far as the LTTE is concerned it has been seeking to reinforce its obduracy with sporadic acts of needless violence alternated by efforts towards political mobilisation to secure mass support for its military action through such tactical moves as the fast of Thileepan, and by projecting itself in a self-perceived role as the sole protector of Tamil interests.

Such tactical moves are apparently aimed to browbeat the moderate strain of opinion in the Tamil leadership, whether within the LTTE or without. Significantly in this context, however, 'Capt.' Raheem who is close to Krishnakumar, (the LTTE's former Jaffna military commander) alias Kiccu, recently went to Jaffna for the

first time since they moved to Tamil Nadu a few months ago. It is a matter of speculation whether their withdrawal from Jaffna was the consequence of a power struggle within the LTTE between the moderates and the militants. However that may be there is sufficient evidence to warrant a conclusion that the LTTE is no longer the monolith which it was before.

recent and, at the same time, setting in motion a gradual process of restoring the apparatus of a civil administration by involving the local population in Jaffna.

To achieve this, however, there are imperatives to which New Delhi has to address itself. The first of these is the deficiencies which Tamil opinion finds in the Constitutional Amendment Bill and

"Such a proposal for a treaty (the Indo-Sri Lanka Treaty proposed by President Jayewardene) would become meaningful only after the proposals of the Accord are implemented in substance and a modicum of normality prevails in the Sinhala and Tamil areas. Such a situation can be said to obtain only if President Jayewardene goes through the exercise of presidential and general elections instead of perpetuating himself and his party in power through a brute majority. The prospects of this must be borne in mind in India's Sri Lanka policy".

This is a positive development as it will help to build a consolidated Tamil opinion in respect of strategies and styles of operation of the various Tamil groups which, more often than not, have been at cross purposes and, in the process, weakened the Tamil will to struggle. This will, moreover, facilitate the emergence of a new and constructive pattern of relationship among the Tamil groups, so essential to marshal popular sanctions to the type of political setup envisaged in the Agreement.

This situation calls for a multi-pronged approach by the Government of India of dealing firmly with the detractors of the Ag-

the Provincial Councils Bill which were enacted recently by the Sri Lankan Parliament. As many have noted, Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi has been relying solely on the 'firm' assurances of President J. R. Jayewardene that these would be looked into after the passage of the Bills. Tamil opinion cannot be expected to be reassured on this score, for its suspicions of commitments made by Colombo are far too deep-seated to be assuaged so easily.

Under the circumstances, the immediate tasks of Indian diplomacy should be to impress on President Jayewardene the point that credible steps are necessary to make his assurances meaningful.

If this is not done with a sense of urgency, it is possible to foresee the extremist-moderate divide among the Tamils once again dominating Tamil opinion and weakening the moderates in the process.

As is evident from the response of the Tamils on the devolution package envisaged in the latest Constitutional Amendment and Provincial Council Acts, the gap between the "absolute maximum" and the "absolute minimum" of the Tamil expectations has yet to be bridged.

In this context, so far the Tamil leadership has maintained that the linkage of the Northern and Eastern Provinces is not negotiable, but as a concession to the Sinhala and the Muslims it accepted the provisions of a referendum. There are indications of a rethinking on this issue by President Jayewardene. But if he spurns the concessions made by the Tamils in this regard, it would be difficult for the Tamil leadership to reconcile itself to it. At the same time, however, the Tamil leadership has to reckon with the fact that although Tamil-speaking, the Muslims are not likely to come under the Tamil political umbrella. This has been so historically and the aggressive attitude of the LTTE has only deepened the apprehensions of the Muslims, not to speak of those of the Sinhala minority in the Eastern Province.

Moreover, the Tamil leadership will also have to reckon with the constraints on President Jayewardene and the limits to which he can go. Not to speak of the opposition of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party (SLFP) to the Acts, President Jayewardene has also to cope with the opposition within his party as is evident from the resignation of one of his Ministers and his sacking of two of his party MPs who had abstained from voting on these two Bills in the National Assembly.

In the past, partisan considerations dominated the "Tamil issue" with the party in the Opposition (whether this was the SLFP or the United National Party trying to make political capital out of it and, consequently, aggravating the Tamil sense of estrangement

from the mainstream of national politics. At present, history seems to be repeating itself — in the opposition of the SLFP. However, unless and until the former Prime Minister, Srimavo Bandaranaike, rises above such partisan considerations and puts forward a positive response to the devolution package, her oppositional stance may be wrested, and politically made use of, by the Janata Vimukti Peramuna (JVP) in its favour.

Significantly, in this context, a number of non-governmental organisations and political groups which endorsed the devolution package (despite its limitations) on the plea that it would help

Unless former Prime Minister Srimavo Bandaranaike puts forward a positive response to the devolution package the JVP may use her stance in its favour.

facilitate people's participation in the governmental process, have already been given a 'death sentence' by the JVP. Apart from killings, its subversive activities in various parts of the Sinhala areas reflect its wide network. It is also believed that apart from the lower echelons of the military and the bureaucracy, it has penetrated the Buddhist clergy and has its cadres in the universities.

At this juncture, there is hardly any linkage among the anti-systemic JVP and the secessionist Tamil elements. However, in the event of the absence of peace and normality in the island, despite the objective divergence between them a target convergence may emerge between the Tamil and Sinhala extremists against the Central Government. And in the event of the failure of a *modus vivendi* between the moderate Tamil elements and Colombo, the possibility of such a linkage cannot be altogether ruled out. This would not only imperil the accord but unleash forces towards greater centralisation and erode further

the already fragile democratic structures and processes in the country.

Hence, as in the case of Tamil opinion so in the case of the Sinhala opinion there is a dire need to evolve a consensus on the devolution package in an all-Sri Lankan context and delink it from sectarian ethnic considerations.

This apart, to manage Sinhala opinion, President Jayewardene has to tackle the political appeal of the insurgency of the JVP and blunt its emotive pull among the Sinhala. While at the moment the JVP seems to be using the Agreement and the presence of Indian troops as the main pretext to mobilise the Sinhala, it would be necessary for the Sri Lankan President to recognise that the JVP is seeking to draw its sustenance from some of the inequities of his economic policies which will in the long run generate a milieu of distributive inequalities. If Jayewardene is to keep the JVP contained, correctives would be necessary to bring in a far greater measure of distributive justice than obtains at present.

It is in the totality of such a configurations of socio-political forces in Sri Lanka that the kite-flying of President Jayewardene regarding an Indo-Sri Lanka treaty embodying the substance of the Indo-Sri Lanka Agreement needs to be examined. At present, his proposal may as well be an effort to commit India to a situation in which he finds himself besieged. Such a treaty will also amount to an acceptance of the devolution package as is embodied in the recent enactments which have been viewed by the Tamil leadership as highly inadequate. Under the circumstances, such a proposal for a treaty would become meaningful only after the provisions of the accord are implemented in substance and a modicum of normality prevails in the Sinhala and Tamil areas. Such a situation can be said to obtain only if President Jayewardene goes through the exercise of presidential and general elections instead of perpetuating himself and his party in power through a brute majority. The prospects of this should be borne in mind in India's Sri Lanka policy.

Are aims of Accord a distant dream?

K. Pathmanabha (Secretary-General EPRLF)

Although, five months have now elapsed since the signing of the Indo-Sri Lankan Accord, the expectations of our peoples that the Accord would pave the way for peace, restoration of the democratic process and meaningful devolution of the Tamil-speaking people, remain a distant dream. In fact, the present reality that face our peoples is one of despair, deprivation and death. On our part, we, the EPRLF, which extended its critical support to the Accord, are finding it increasingly difficult to demonstrate to our people, in concrete and tangible terms, the gains of the Accord. What our people see, instead is the process through which only those conditions favourable to the Sri Lankan government are being satisfied. In addition, our own expectations that the Accord would serve to create those conditions that would pave the way for the fusion on broad, democratic Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim consensus remains to be fulfilled.

We give below certain specific cases of non-implementation of the Accord, which in our opinion, constitute the major obstacles to the realization of peace, democracy and unity which today comprises the main political slogans of EPRLF and the rationale behind our supporting the Accord:

1. The abrogation of the General Amnesty Clause:

There are, at this moment, around 1,250 Tamil political prisoners who are still incarcerated in prisons (ie the New Magazine prison, the Booza Army Camp and the Pelawatta Transit Camp). This constitutes a flagrant violation of the General Amnesty clause that speaks of General Amnesty to all political detainees, including those accused, charged and convicted. In addition, there are over 1,000 persons listed as missing.

Furthermore, the General Amnesty clause has been deliberately misinterpreted by the Sri Lankan

- Expectations that the Accord (would create conditions... for fusion of broad democratic Sinhala, Tamil and Muslim consensus remain unfulfilled.
- We demand General Amnesty be extended to ALL political prisoners without any distinction being made on the basis of ethnicity or region.
- Process of consultation should include ALL Tamil organisations which took part in Delhi talks... and all recognised political parties, incorporating Sinhala opposition parties into political equation.
- We emphasise the need for holding provincial council elections and early general elections, as confidence building measure.

government so as to exclude all those (Sinhalese as well as Tamils) who have been charged or convicted under the prevention of Terrorism Act for alleged offences committed outside the Northern and Eastern provinces. This act of chicanery and legal manipulation has been harsh towards those Sinhala political and human rights activists who were incarcerated, primarily, for supporting the legitimate and democratic demands of their Tamil compatriots. We are, in particular, concerned over the plight of members of a group called the Vikalpa Kandayama ("Alternative Group") who now face trial under the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) and emergency Regulations — one of the charges being conspiring to overthrow the government in collusion with the EPRLF. If, both, the Government of India as well as the Sri Lankan Government are serious about creating the conditions for tranquility and harmony between the Tamil and Sinhala peoples, within a unified Sri Lanka, then we demand that General Amnesty be extended to all political

prisoners without any distinction being made on the basis of ethnicity or region.

2. Devolution of Power:

The 13th Amendment to the Constitution and the Bill pertaining to the powers that would devolve to the Provincial Councils, as well as its structure, fall far short of the just and democratic aspirations of the Eelam People (to the Tamil-speaking People of Sri Lanka). In fact, the unilateral move by the Sri Lankan Government in pushing through the relevant amendment and the Bill, is a clear case of bad faith and goes contrary to the terms of the Accord which explicitly states that all "residual matters" be resolved in consultations with the Government of India. However, the devolution "package" excludes completely the contents of the earlier three rounds of talks between New Delhi and Colombo with the TULF being consulted in "proximity talks". In fact, both, Delhi as well as all Tamil organisations (including the TULF) have

expressed their total dissatisfaction with the devolution package unilaterally pushed through by the Sri Lankan Government. As long as this situation continues, the prospects of early elections to the Provincial Councils are, indeed, poor, particularly since there will be no candidates coming forward to endorse the devolution package to the Tamil people.

We, therefore, demand that negotiations be re-started on the devolution package in accordance with the terms and spirit of the accord. We demand that process of consultations include all Tamil organizations which took part in the Delhi talks. We also strongly suggest that those recognized political parties (based in the Sinhala majority areas) which were invited for the All Parties Conference (1984) and political parties Conference (1986) also be consulted. A broadest consensus for peace and devolution may be achieved by thus reincorporating the Sinhala Opposition Parties into the political equation. In this regard, we also emphasise the need for the holding of provincial council elections and early general elections, as a confidence building measure.

3. The problem of statelessness of Plantation Tamils.

We have, right from the beginning, taken a position against Clause 16 (d) of the Accord which seeks to link the repatriation of Plantation Tamils of Sri Lanka to India to the sending back of Tamil refugees in India to Sri Lanka. Our position is that both are unrelated. Firstly, as far as the question statelessness is concerned, the Plantation Tamils who toiled to develop the plantation economy and who have lived in Sri Lanka for over 4 generations, have every right to call Sri Lanka their homeland. Thus, all those who wish to be citizens of Sri Lanka should be given citizenship, unconditionally. As far as the refugees from Sri Lanka are concerned, their

resettlement in Sri Lanka can only be initiated once there is some semblance of normalcy and guarantee to their physical safety and security. No such condition exist today — 5 months after the signing of the Accord.

4. Annexure in the Accord.

Contrary to the elements in the Annexure to the Accord, the Sri Lankan Government has so far failed to terminate the presence of external military/intelligence agencies which were involved in the militarization of the Sri Lankan armed forces in their pursuance of a military solution. It is our stand that the demilitarization of the ethnic conflict cannot be one-sided to include only the disarmament of the Eelam Resistance — as things have been proceeding so far.

We, therefore, demand that the Annexure to the Accord be implemented.

In addition to the above, we are greatly concerned with a problem that immediately face our people, arising directly out of the armed hostilities between the IPKF and the LTTE. It is imperative that the Government of India should take all necessary steps to ensure that the civilian casualties and the extreme economic and psychological deprivation of our people, be kept to an absolute minimum — or avoided altogether.

On our part, the EPRLF has already issued a call to all Tamil Organizations to unite and engage themselves fully in relief and rehabilitation work. Two preliminary meetings were held in Trincomalee on September 29, and 30th November in Madras. Follow-up meetings have been scheduled to be held in Madras, as well as in other parts of the Northern and Eastern provinces. In addition, the EPRLF has presented an 8 point proposal to

the Government of India consisting of immediate remedial measures to alleviate the sufferings of the citizens in the war-stricken areas. As an immediate task we call on the Government of India, to initiate the political process, as delineated by us above, and not allow the acts of provocation by the LTTE distract it from implementing the Accord to the full. We also call on the LTTE to subordinate its narrow, parochial ends to the wider and long-term interests of our people and join the mainstream of the struggle for peace, democracy, unity and social progress.

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AFTER THE SUPERPOWER SUMMIT...

TIME, no known supporter of socialism or the Soviet Union, has named Mikhail Gorbachev **"The Man of the Year"**, an award given to the individual who has made the most significant impact in any area of human activity in a particular year, regardless of the person's views. The following are three views from the Sri Lankan opposition (the government has unreservedly welcomed the Arms Accord), and from two journalists — an Indian correspondent for the conservative Birla-owned HINDUSTAN TIMES, and a British correspondent, writing for one of the world's most influential newspapers, the **Financial Times**, both based in Moscow.

A view from Moscow

Hari Sharan Chhabra

The welcome accorded to the December 8 Washington treaty on the elimination of intermediate and short-range missiles by Muscovites was warm and spontaneous. The enthusiasm was so great that it would be hard to find anyone in the Soviet capital, who did not watch on the TV the historic signing of the treaty by Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan. For the Soviets it was the number one event of the outgoing year, perhaps of the decade.

A number of Soviet media colleagues and academics recounted to this correspondent the story of Galina, who delivered twin boys on December 8 and how she and her husband proudly named them Mikhail and Ronald. This is perhaps not to suggest that the U. S. President has become a popular hero in the Soviet Union. This is certainly an honour given by the Soviet couple and for that matter by the Soviet nation to the summit and the treaty.

Everyone in Moscow said that it was a great step towards future peace. But Valentina Falin, chief of the Novosti Press Agency, put it: "It is impossible to make the

second, third and other steps without making the first step."

If the INF missiles can be scrapped in Europe, Falin said, then the prospects for dismantling the central strategic system and tactical nuclear weapons will naturally become plausible. He expressed the hope that he would be able to speak about the nuclear catastrophe "in the past tense".

A young university scholar in Moscow when asked why she welcomed the treaty had this to say: "We do not want any more wars. We want the people in Moscow, Paris and London to live in peace. Can we forget that we lost 20 million of our people in the last war?"

Even as they express their happiness with the historic treaty, the Muscovites will give all the credit for the success in signing the treaty to Gorbachev. He was not only optimistic but persistent. "He outmanoeuvred Reagan and left no option to the U. S. leader in his peace offensive", was the frank comment of an official in the Soviet Foreign Office. But

quoting Gorbachev he said: "A safe world will have to be built jointly with capitalist countries."

In retrospect, Soviet commentators now think of the Delhi Declaration of November 1986, which talked of "nuclear free and non-violent world", as the trailblazer for the Washington treaty. The Geneva summit of November 1985 and the Reykjavik summit of October 1986 are also considered in Moscow events leading to the historic INF treaty. While Geneva put an end to the dangerously protracted pause in Soviet-U. S. contacts, the Reykjavik meeting gave a practical boost to new thinking and made international contacts more fruitful.

The December 8 treaty appears to have made the Soviet nation more optimistic and determined about peace. While Reagan is assured of a warm welcome in Moscow at the next year's summit, the Soviets hope and wish that an agreement on 50 per cent reduction on strategic nuclear arms can be reached, with strict observance of the ABM treaty of 1972. They are hoping for the best.

It was noted by the Soviet media that Reagan also talked about the 50 per cent reduction and this seemed to be an occasion to greet. But said a cynic: "This is oneupmanship on the part of Reagan. For he would hate to see Gorbachev getting all the credit for peace."

Another commentator, no less a cynic, pointed out that the U. S. economy was in a shambles with the budget deficit running into one trillion dollars. Reagan is left with no choice but to think of reducing the expenditure on defence. The Washington treaty and the forthcoming Moscow summit will have a bearing on

the future course of U.S. economy, the expenditure on SDI, notwithstanding.

At the same time, the Novosty chief and many like him are worried about the American extreme right-wing and conservative elements, who are lobbying to oppose Congressional ratification of the treaty on INF missiles. They, who only till yesterday considered Reagan a symbol of anti-Communist strategy, are calling him a "weak President", who is becoming a stooge of Moscow and who is being accused of betrayal. For these die-hard reactionaries, commentators in Moscow say, Casper Weinberger was the last hope. Soviets have noted that Reagan is being charged of letting down the West European allies.

But Mikhail Kapitsa, director of the Influential Institute of Oriental Studies, is certain that the treaty will be ratified by the Senate — may be 25 members out of 100 may oppose it. But it is possible, he thinks, that the Conservative elements may oppose any move on the part of Reagan administration to agree to the idealistic

50 per cent reduction in nuclear weapons.

Kapitsa is, however, worried about two things concerning the treaty. He says that at the Washington summit the agreement was on removing the Soviet and American missiles from Europe. The French and British missiles will remain intact. Something in the nature of agreement in this regard has to be reached in the interest of peace in Europe.

Kapitsa also expressed his fears by saying that the opponents of the treaty in the United States will keep on doubting Soviet sincerity on the verification of eliminated and liquidated intermediate and short-range missiles. They will say that the "Soviets are hiding these missiles in their garages or somewhere else". They will forget, Kapitsa said, that there is a long and detailed protocol regarding inspection of the liquidated warheads, both deployed and kept in depots.

Soviets are well aware that the intermediate range missiles must be destroyed in three years, while the short-range missiles must go in 18 months. The treaty stands

out for a sophisticated system of inspection and control through the Nuclear Risk Reduction Centres. There should be no chance of any suspicion, at least the Soviets are certain about the workability of this mechanism.

An article in Izvestia, said that the treaty has to be followed in good faith. Confidence is of vital importance to both sides, the article pointed out. "The treaty strictly considers the balance of interests, not an arithmetical balance of forces."

In this connection it is pertinent to point out that the Warsaw Pact allies have welcomed the bold initiative taken by Gorbachev. Commentators in Moscow said that Gorbachev did well in making a stop-over in Berlin to brief his allies before returning to Moscow from Washington. There is a similar desire for peace in the Warsaw Pact countries. The mass media in these countries does not suspect American designs.

What the Soviets hate immensely, however, is Reagan's parrot-like talk of lack of human rights in the Soviet Union.

Summit success is boost for Gorbachev at home

Patrick Cockburn

Mikhail Gorbachev's success at the summit has boosted his standing at home just when he needs it most.

The Soviet leader has been seen to achieve the political parity with the US which eluded Mr Leonid Brezhnev during the first period of US-Soviet detente in the 1970s.

And given the strong conservative reaction within the Communist Party to political change since mid summer, the signing of the INF Treaty and the Soviet public relations triumph over the last three days strengthens Mr Gorbachev's hand considerably.

Soviet citizens are conscious that for all the rhetoric of reform over the past two years very little has changed in the way their society is run. The Soviet leader needed a concrete achievement to give credibility to his plans for radical change. He has largely obtained it by defusing, if not ending, the cold war between the super powers.

President Reagan's visit to Moscow next year will also be important in setting the agenda in Soviet domestic politics. It will make it more difficult for conservatives within the Politburo and the central committee to get rid of Mr Gorbachev, or at

least limit his authority, during the next 18 months. The Soviet leader has said this will be the crucial period for political and economic restructuring.

So far the perestroika restructuring programme has had little impact on the daily lives of 283 m Soviet citizens. From January 1 it will begin to do so as central control of Soviet enterprises is sharply reduced. It is therefore important that Mr Gorbachev starts this critical period with a success under his belt.

Furthermore, an end to the cold war, if sustained, will ultimately transform the political calculations which are behind the way the

Soviet Union has organised itself since the Bolsheviks came to power in 1917.

The justification for the fortress state built by Lenin and Stalin and run by an authoritarian Communist Party was that all political authority and economic resources had to be concentrated in the centre to modernise the country and fight off the enemy at the gate. "We have 10 years and then the wolves will be on us", said Stalin in the 1920s.

The argument, though its political potency had much diminished by the time Mr Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party in 1985, has remained crucial for conservatives in the Soviet bureaucracy.

Also encouraging for Mr Gorbachev and the Soviet leadership is that the diplomatic dialogue with Washington is with President Reagan and a right-wing US administration which came to power in 1981 dedicated to standing firm against the Soviet Union.

Moscow has been particularly keen to deal with President Reagan while he is still in office because they believe he is invulnerable to pressure from the right. The same may not be true of a successor in the White House.

There is a further advantage for Mr. Gorbachev. Conservatives at home complain at what they see as the excesses of glasnost and greater freedom of expression but there is no doubt that they have been the necessary pre-condition for changing American perceptions of the Soviet Union away from President Reagan's "evil empire".

The political benefits for Mr. Gorbachev from renewed détente and a measure of nuclear disarmament are more immediate than the economic advantages. The missiles to be eliminated are only 4 per cent of nuclear arsenals and nuclear weapons are a much smaller component of defence budgets than conventional forces.

In any case the Central Intelligence Agency says it will be

the end of the decade before the Kremlin has a real opportunity to change the proportion of resources going to the military because investment is already in place for weapons programmes over the next few years.

But the switch of emphasis from confrontation to dialogue makes it far more difficult in the long term for the Soviet military to justify vast new expenditure on arms. Relaxation of tension between Moscow and Washington inevitably undermines lobbying by the military establishments in both countries for more money, particularly when both governments face budgetary difficulties.

Moscow can see that Washington is still schizophrenic about accepting the Soviet Union as an equal superpower. Diplomatic success has been largely concentrated on arms control and not on regional issues such as Afghanistan or even the Gulf War where there is some basis for co-operation.

(F. T.)

Hope for Third World

Sirimavo Bandaranaike

On behalf of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party, I welcome with an abundance of hope the Intermediate Nuclear Force Treaty signed on December 8th between the United States of America and Soviet Union. I congratulate President Reagan and Secretary General Gorbachev on this historic achievement.

According to Press reports, the Treaty consists of four documents setting out obligations of the two sides in relation to the procedures for inspection of the missiles system and related structures, their locations, destruction and verification within an agreed time frame.

One of the first goals of the Non-aligned movement, announced over 25 years ago in Belgrade at the Non-aligned Summit was total disarmament and a world free of nuclear war. We of the Sri Lanka Freedom Party are happy that both leaders have

declared this agreement which is one significant step forward towards this goal.

As I stated in the course of my address last November, to commemorate the late Mr. Felix Dias Bandaranaike, I hope that "the implementation of this agreement will create in a climate of confidence, a retreat from brinkmanship and hopefully a more fruitful North South dialogue". People all over the world will I am sure, welcome this agreement and nourish the hope it brings, that sanity will finally prevail and that there will be no nuclear holocaust which would destroy all of mankind.

As far as people living in the developing countries are concerned they would only derive lasting satisfaction from such a step towards reduction of nuclear armaments

if the resources so released are used primarily to eliminate poverty, misery and including starvation in its worst forms as seen in certain Asian & African countries to day & also to meet the basic needs of over two thirds of the world now living below the poverty line.

Moreover the smaller countries among them must hope that the new spirit of détente would assure them peace and rid them of the fear of future involvement in wars, as proxies of Super Powers.

A return to the spirit & principles of the United Nations Charter is their best guarantee of their hopes & aspirations. Let us all big and small, as member states of the United Nations Organisation work with faith & determination to achieve that goal—for the alternative may well be the uncertain protection of a world carved into sphere of influence & inevitably drawn into the horrors of nuclear confrontation.

VIEW FROM WASHINGTON

The U.S. correspondent of the Financial Times, Stewart Fleming, writing before the signing of the Treaty, quoted David Broder, the political pundit of the **Washington Post** who said that Gorbachev's "presence can change the dynamics of the (US political) game". Mr. Fleming who filed this despatch from Washington had no reason to change his mind after the event.

There is a tangible air of expectation in America today as the nation awaits the first ever visit of Mr Mikhail Gorbachev. The business of his summit with President Ronald Reagan may be important in itself but there is a growing perception that this Soviet leader, until now seen in the US from a distance, may be very different — and very challenging.

Even President Ronald Reagan, the most ardent anticommunist ever to occupy the White House, is giving him what can only be described as rave reviews when compared with his past assessments of the Soviet hierarchy. Last week he twice described him as "quite different" from past Soviet leaders because he has "never reiterated before the great national Communist Congress that the Soviets are pledged to a world expansion."

Moreover, to the dismay of the conservative Republicans whom Mr Reagan once counted amongst

his most enthusiastic supporters, the objectives Mr Gorbachev is pursuing are designed to usher in a new more co-operative era in the superpower relationship.

Even this Administration is dropping tantalising hints that this is a course it wants to follow too. In a television interview on Thursday night Mr Reagan launched a vicious attack on his own hardcore conservative base and said he thought there would be a summit next year in Moscow. He added: "I think there is a reasonably good chance we will make another gigantic step forward in the elimination of nuclear missiles."

"This time it is the Senate conservatives who are going to be taking off their shoes and angrily banging them on the table," says Mr Michael Krepon, an arms control expert with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace recalling Mr Nikita Khrushchev's extraordinary performance at the

United Nations during his visit to America in 1959.

Ironically it is not the thought that Mr Gorbachev might imitate Mr Khrushchev's loutish behaviour which is worrying some Soviet experts in the US. It is the fear that the charismatic Mr Gorbachev will bring his formidable communications skills to bear and compete too effectively with Mr Reagan as a messenger of peace, thus increasing the pressure on Washington to move in the direction of what even some White House officials are referring to as "Detente II"

Recent polls have shown that Americans view Mr Gorbachev almost as favourably as President Reagan. An ABC News Washington Post poll, published yesterday, indicated that 59 per cent of Americans view the Soviet leader favourably compared with 63 per cent who have a favourable perception of President Reagan. This past week has seen influential political columnists such as Mr David Broder of the Washington Post writing schoolmasterly columns urging the American people not to underestimate Mr Gorbachev or to make a "pop hero" of him. "Mikhail Gorbachev is bidding to become the 13th man in the American presidential (election).

European view

How did West Europe take the INF Treaty? This is a comment from Theo Summer, editor-in-chief, of West Germany's prestigious *DIE ZEIT*:

Confidence building

The INF deal is a good deal. It could be a kind of can opener for more comprehensive disarmament to follow. It may not by itself be a measure of overwhelming import, abolishing, as it does at best 5 or 6 percent of America's and Russia's nuclear arsenals ("spares" included). But it provides the superpowers with an opportunity to test the reliability of an inspection regime both encroaching and tolerable. If it works, it will help build the confidence

that is indispensable for greater disarmament steps.

Of course, there are those who do not believe that the world will ever change, more particularly that the Russians will ever change. They proclaim that all arms control is inherently destabilizing, that the Soviets are forever expansionist, domineering and deceptive, and that Gorbachev's new thinking is the height of deception — the more deceiving since he looks and sounds so reasonable and genial. The cold war, in their

view, is the natural state of affairs to which we have to gear all our thoughts and efforts. Most Europeans, as far as I can see, would disagree with those harbingers of gloom. While remaining vigilant and wary of elation, they would prefer to invest in hope rather than in bleak despondency; to improve the East-West climate by slowing down, and, in the end, stopping the arms race; to base coexistence and stability not on ever more arms but on accommodation.

I feel the same way. The INF agreement is not the beginning of the end. It is the only chance we have for a fresh start after so many years of sterile confrontation.

Foreign Policy as first Line of Defence

In exchange for the obligations which India undertook Delhi imposed certain conditions on us which, I put to you, is tantamount to a curtailment of our sovereignty in specified areas of foreign policy and security. That is the foreign policy *quid pro quo* for the Indian assistance this government invited and obtained to resolve a domestic problem.

In fact, Sir, the bitter truth is this: the *quid pro quo*, the agreed limits on our sovereignty is the price that Sri Lanka and its people have had to pay for the criminal follies, the senseless absurdities and the tragic errors which have characterised ten years of the U.N.P.'s foreign policy, conducted in the name of nonalignment. Of course, we are not surprised.

You made your initial mistake — a costly mistake as it turned out to be — by ridiculing the nonaligned movement and abusing its respected leaders in order to score some cheap debating points against the SLFP and its leader. When Sri Lanka was given the honour of hosting the 5th nonaligned summit, were you as Sri Lankans proud of that fact — you, who talk so piously and pompously about patriotism today? No. I remember you too a picture of President Kennoch Kaunda of Zambia and Mrs. Bandaranaike, and you called it "kabele natuu". . . . You told the people that their money was being wasted on a carnival. The Colombo summit cost about ten million dollars — and most of it came as contributions from 11 nonaligned countries, and from 3 countries outside the movement. The conference hall was built by the Chinese as a memorial tribute to Mr. S. W. R. D. Bandaranaike. The money that we had to spend in hard currency, in dollars, was not more than what your foreign minister and many of your ministers, spend

on your official travels, along with entourages that sometimes exceed a 10-20 persons, living in the costliest suits in super-luxury hotels.

But your criminal stupidity — for which this country has paid in human lives — was the abuse you heaped on Mrs. Indira Gandhi and her family.

You invited Moraji Desai (and we in the SLFP said nothing against that) but you thought he will be prime minister for ever — The truth is that you had no respect for nonalignment for you were totally ignorant of what nonalignment was — its historical evolution, its ideals and aspirations, its role in a world dominated by the superpowers and divided by power blocs. So monumental was your ignorance that you even claimed that Sir John Kotelawala (and may be Esmond Wickremasinghe, his adviser) was the author of nonalignment — not Nehru, not Tito, not Nasser, not Soekarno, not Kwame Nkrumah but Sir John! You could practice such tomfoolery on the people, when you had some credibility. Now you have none. Ignorance, Sir is excusable — one can always learn or be taught. But ignorance wedded to arrogance, is a fatal combination and the damage can be exceedingly high.

With your permission, Mr. Speaker I should like to quote here a few paragraphs from a recent speech of the leader of our party who chaired the 5th summit, and directed our foreign policy from 1960-65 and from 1970-75. In her Felix Dias Bandaranaike Memorial Lecture, Mrs. Bandaranaike said:

"In the context of the present ethnic problem, some critics have raised the question. 'What help has the Non-Aligned Movement been to us?' We are also lately accustomed to hearing voices lamenting loudly that Sri Lanka

once a proud, independent, Non-Aligned Nation respected by the entire world, has been left friendless and helpless. Some Sri Lankans suggested in Parliament, public forums or in the press that it is our policy of Non-Alignment which has left Sri Lanka defenceless". (end of quotation.)

(To be continued)

A military. . .

(Continued from page 6)

endorsed the Accord. The massive assistance for reconstruction and rehabilitation which was pledged at the recent Special Aid Group Meeting in Paris gives ample proof of their endorsement.

Without this aid, we would have been compelled to halt work on most of our development projects, and to cut our expenditure on food stamps, social services, health and education. This would have resulted in widespread unemployment, malnutrition and ill-health, and would have sharply reduced the living standards of our people.

Is this what the Leader of the Opposition and others who, like him, think that we should increase our military expenditure and continue to fight a fruitless war, really want? Is this what the opponents of the Peace Accord want? Let them tell us exactly what their alternative is.

If they come into power, will they abrogate the Peace Accord and face the international condemnation which such abrogation will inevitably entail? All aid and investment will dry up. How then would the SLFP finance our growth and development? Those are the questions the Leader of the Opposition must answer, instead of ranting against me.

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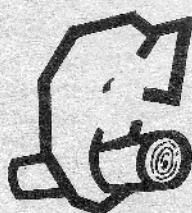
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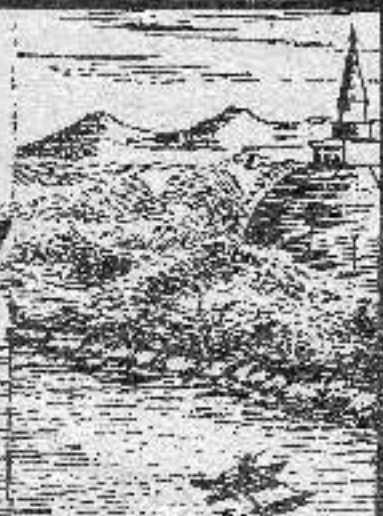
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TOURISM, EXPORTS, TRADE.

Susantha G. vs the rest

Marga

One of the best services of the Marga Institute is its translation programme.

Yet, the answers given by Marga do not meet my major arguments about disproportionate funding and the consequent distortion of the Sri Lankan academic scene. The figures I quoted were in fact all taken from a NARESA - SLAAS workshop in which Godfrey Gunatillake represented Marga and where university scholar after scholar complained about the lack of funding. Marga's counter arguments on funding are spurious, (for example the bulk of a University teacher's salary should be counted against his teaching and not against research costs).

I do believe that as an exception a sufficiently gifted researcher without an MA or a PhD may in fact be able to do path-breaking research. Alternatively a person who has been working in some government or private office in a non-research capacity could be trained to do research work of an applied nature. The University maintains the criteria of an MA or PhD for a confirmed post precisely because that is a guarantee of a formal exposure to research methodology and a proven and tested research capacity. In non-exceptional circumstances the number of MA's or PhD's are a sufficient measure for discussing such comparative aspects as access to funds etc.

In the NARESA seminar it ensued than largely because of preemptive contacts, University personnel could not get access to resources. For instance if a Canadian government agency is under the false impression in its discussion with NARESA officials that Marga was already awarding degrees and if a SARPC publication, stated that this private organisation is to have a postgraduate degree courses, then clearly a false impression has been created.

There are in Sri Lanka Universities apart from the 350 social science related MAs or PhDs, in my estimate about hundred PhDs in subjects directly related to development. Marga, I doubt, has given three, although it has designated itself as Sri Lankan Centre for Development Studies.

(To be continued)

Letters...

(Continued from page 1)

phase and a fear phase. The greed-phase is followed by a long and protracted incubation period, sometimes as long as 5-years, before the fear phase commences and begins to show the fear symptom. This means that when the disease comes to be diagnosed as Mr. Jayewardene has done, it may be far too late. And, the bad part about Bialitis is that accompanying the disease at sub-clinical level, are various kinds of phobias the most dominant of which is the ballot-box phobia. In fact, there are instances where Bialitis patients are reported to develop violent convulsions at the very mention of a ballot box.

In the meantime a team of local Scientists are already beginning to see an elephant-Bialitis virus relationship in much the same way as the monkey-AIDS relationship. Therefore they argue that only a part of the population that was exposed to the penetrating green-light in the latter part of 1981 could have become victims of this dreaded disease.

They also see some connection between Bialitis and the state of democracy. While they have tentatively discovered a mutant-type of Bialitis Virus in their biopsy studies of Democracy, they are positive in attributing its precarious condition to two other elephant borne viruses. According to them Democracy is unable to raise its head (brain damage) because of injuries caused by the anti-Democracy virus - Dr. Rileytus, and is unable to walk even with one leg because of Elephantitis.

Dr. Marvyn D. De Silva
Colamba 7.

POL POTISM

'When did you first come to know about Pol Pot?', I asked a Cambodian. He said, 'When I came home from the rice fields one day I saw my two-year-old child dying in a heap of ashes with a half-finished piece of pumpkin soaked in blood in his mouth and my wife dying of a head wound. She was panting and whispering to me "Try to find the murderer of our son and revenge me and our son." Then I found out about Pol Pot - see page 191 of *SIDESHOW* by William Shawcross. This is said to be the best book on the Cambodian war.

Your blurb *POL POTISM* in the cover page of Oct 1st Lanka GUARDIAN, prompts me to ask Mr. Reggie Siriwardena & Ms. Radhika Coomaraswamy to whom they first came to know about their "Northern Pol Pot" when were they in Jaffna to talk to the people and see the place? If so how many times and the duration? My house was burnt in May, 1983. On 16.10.87 about 25 of us were fleeing in a mini-bus towards the interior to be away from it all. Just 2 miles away from Jaffna, a helicopter strafed us. My wife and daughter were immobilised and were bad-ridden in the Jaffna Hospital for over a month. Back home my wife is yet in bed. The crutches await her. My daughter a 23 year old final year Jaffna Varsity student can just limp a distance of about 15 feet. Her immediate worry - when will the finals be? I Wonder whether the above facts too will interest Reggie & Radhika in their quest for Pol Potism in the North of Sri Lanka! We like to hear more about this latest "ism" over here.

Will you be good enough to publish this letter from a regular reader and correspondent?

N. Deva Rajan,
Arasady Road,
Jaffna.

CRICKET

English 'superiority' leads to Test clash

Azhar Karim

Lahore

Lord Home, the former British prime minister and cricket enthusiast, put it this way: "Manners matter. In cricket they matter absolutely." Those words, evocative of an age when the English upper classes dominated the game, were delivered last September to celebrate the bicentennial of Lord's — the home of Marylebone Cricket Club (better known as MCC), once the governing body of the sport. It was an age when the phrase "It's not cricket" became a synonym for fair play and publicly school boys were taught to placid and play the game.

The cloak of propriety thrown over the game in the heyday of empire became threadbare the moment England's national pride was threatened. During the infamous "bodyline" tour of Australia in 1932-33 the English captain, Douglas Jardine, devised ruthless bowling tactics to intimidate the Australian batsmen. Jardine's disregard for the unwritten rules of the game almost led to the severing of cricketing relations between the two countries.

Early in December, during the second Test between England and Pakistan at Faisalabad, another English captain, Mike Gatting, precipitated the most serious crisis in cricket history since the "bodyline" controversy.

Gatting's on-field clash with Pakistani umpire Shakoor Rana on 8 December, the second day of the match, threatened to curtail the series and sour relations between the two countries. Their finger-wagging, screaming, eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation included derogatory references to Rana's ancestry. This ugly incident occurred after Rana declared the ball "dead" because Gatting was moving a fielder during the bowler's run-up.



The relevant portion of Law 42 of the International Cricket Conference (ICC) reads: "The umpires are 'the sole judge of fair and unfair play,' (para 6) and 'an umpire is justified in intervening under this law and shall call and signal deadball' if, in his opinion, any player of the fielding side incommodes the striker by any noise or action while he is receiving the ball" (section 6). Rana was clearly within his rights in invoking the law. Gatting, already incensed by the umpiring in earlier matches, chose to construe Rana's action as impugning his integrity and lost his temper. Rana, not one to take things lying down, shouted back.

This unsavoury altercation took place during the final over of the day's play. Rana demanded an apology and added that he would not umpire the match until he had received it. There had been an incessant war of words between the two sides from the beginning of the tour; Gatting had earlier issued a statement about "biased" umpiring which amounted to accusing the Pakistanis of cheating.

Chris Broad, England's opening batsman, refused to budge after being given out in the first Test at Lahore. Eventually, the non-striker had to persuade him to leave. Amazingly, Broad was neither censured nor fined. Although there had been a couple of questionable decisions, Pakistan had won the first Test by such a huge margin that it was felt that the English players were simply bad losers.

Gatting compounded the ill-feeling aroused by clash with Rana by refusing to apologise until the umpire did so as well. He justified this unprecedented demand by claiming that Rana had called him a "cheat" and also abused him. Gatting's position was untenable because the umpire's authority is absolute. Whatever the circumstances, no one in Pakistan was willing to tolerate his McEnroe-esque outburst. Gatting would not back down and the third day's play was lost in labyrinthine negotiations between Peter Lush, England's manager, and the Board of Cricket Control in Pakistan.

(BCCP) about who should apologise to whom and why.

* * *

Public opinion in Pakistan was inflamed by the disparaging tone of the coverage in the British press. The tabloids went to town and even in the heavies some analysts suggested that Pakistan was a nation of cheats. Omar Kuroishi, Pakistan's most respected cricket analyst, wrote: "I feel that the words 'cheat' and 'cheating' are being bandied about too freely without any body understanding that it can constitute slander... Why is it that their umpires are gullible, at worst, of human error while our umpires cheat? Are we to accept that English umpires are paragons of virtue while our umpires have flawed characters?"

Conscious of the political fallout, the British Ambassador in Islamabad Nicholas Barrington urged caution. The British Government, realising that matters were getting out of hand, issued a thinly veiled rebuke to Gatting. John Wakeham, leader of the House of Commons, said in parliament: "Whatever the consequences, there can be no excuse for flouting the authority of judges, referees or umpires. Such respect is fundamental to the playing of any sport".

The Test and Country Cricket Board (TCCB) finally climbed off the fence and directed the tour management to get on with the game. Gatting was ordered to apologise and complied but the English side was unrepentant and issued its own statement. "The incident was sad for cricket, but the solution forced upon us is even sadder," they said.

The second Test resumed on the fourth day and was drawn. TCCB chairman Raman Subba Row and chief executive Alan Smith arrived in Karachi on a "fact finding" mission and to make certain that nothing went wrong during the third and final Test match in Karachi. Meanwhile, the BCCP, in a magnanimous gesture, offered the English side the option of using "neutral" umpires of their own choosing "from anywhere in the world" in the final Test,

but none was available from India — the nearest and obvious choice — and Pakistani umpires stood in the match.

Gatting, whose tenure as captain is now uncertain, is the victim of his own prejudices and the arrogance of the English cricketing establishment. Before the war, Lord's was the undisputed centre of the cricketing world. Decolonisation and the pressure of market forces changed the nature of cricket, but the MCC and the TCCB were reluctant to endorse proposals that would bring the administration of the game into line with the situation on the ground. Self-appointed arbiters of the game, they were content to issue platitudes to try to delay the inevitable, the democratisation of the game's power structure.

The controversy about umpiring has been brewing for more than two decades. In the past few years the call for the appointment of neutral umpires or international umpires has been gathering force. A simple and effective remedy, it is standard procedure in other sports. The MCC, which still provides the ICC with its chairman and secretariat, responded with horror. To the MCC, the notion that neutral umpires were needed was just not cricket as it implied that umpires are anything but fair.

Even if it became a necessity it was unworkable, the MCC reasoned. After all, most of the experienced and competent umpires were English. Since it was not possible to have an international panel of umpires composed solely of Englishmen, there was the unthinkable prospect of a West Indian and a Pakistani umpiring a test match between England and Australia at Lord's.

It was Imran Khan, the charismatic and respected former captain of Pakistan, who took the plunge. Fed up with complaints about umpiring he demanded and got "neutral" umpires in a home series against an all-conquering West Indian side in 1986. Pakistan drew the series

and there was nothing to tarnish their achievement. The BCCP then suggested to the ICC that a panel of neutral umpires be instituted but the traditional cricket-playing countries, England and Australia, were particularly opposed to this notion. After the debacle at Faisalabad there are at last some voices in England in support of international umpires.

Pakistan and England, in particular, historically have had a troubled cricketing relationship. In 1955 a Pakistani umpire, Idris Beg, was physically assaulted by members of an MCC touring side. Two of the main protagonists, Donald Carr and Brian Close, went on to become secretary of the TCCB and captain of England respectively. Evidently, the moral code did not extend to the treatment of Pakistani umpires.

Last summer in England the Pakistani team, its captain Khan and manager Haseeb Ahsan were treated with disdain by the TCCB, Gatting and the British press. In the customary pre tour meeting with the TCCB, Khan and Haseeb expressed their reservations about an English umpire, David Constant, who they felt had given contentious decisions against them in previous tours. They also pointed out that India had objected to Constant in 1986 and he had been withdrawn from one game. The TCCB was adamant and ignored them.

After the third one-day international, which preceded the Test matches, Gatting virtually accused the Pakistanis of cheating. Two Pakistani bowlers who were nursing niggling injuries went off the field after completing their quota of overs. Gatting later implied that this was part of a conscious plan to cheat. Such accusations became a regular feature of the tour. Haseeb was not spared either. The English press gleefully characterised him as a bumbling, ill-spoken, coarse subcontinental — a character out of a Peter Sellers movie. Despite such provocations, Pakistan won the Test series but Gatting later

(Continued on page 32)

Part IV

Ethnicity and Economic Growth

Sonali Deraniyagala

During this period the means of industrial finance was also controlled by the state, with the 2 government owned banks accounting for 3/4 th of the lending to the industrial sector, both public and private, in 1973. This could have been another area where patronage worked to the favour of the Sinhala industrialists. However, this must be considered against the fact that in 1967 only 9% of private investment in manufacturing was financed by institutional sources and 53% came from the firms own funds. A study for the Ministry of Finance reveals that it was mainly the capital intensive larger firms with foreign collaboration that relied on bank financing, whereas smaller registered establishments relied primarily on private financing. The definition of 'small' establishment used in this study seems to fit on description of the middle level industrialist (ie. those locally owned industrialist in light industry). Thus, the effect of patronage through the control of finance may not have been that crucial to this segment of industrialists. However, one needs more evidence to make a conclusion on this, as some of these middle level industrialists may have obtained finance through state patronage.

A UNIDO study (1976) has commented on how a large proportion of industry in this period was concentrated in non-essential items and that development of industry did not correspond to the objective needs of the economy. This could be interpreted in terms of the political leverage of these industrialists. Thus despite adherence to a planned economy' if the manufacturers were politically significant groups, the state would not have acted to control or redirect areas of investment—and planning in this area was hardly even indicative. Given the Sinhala domination of the state, this would support the argument of the ethnic interests dominating industry.

Another significant feature for the purpose of this analysis could be the extent of concentration of ownership that took place in private sector industry in this period—in 1974 89% of total output was produced by just 9% of the total number of firms manufacturing sector. This was largely due to the harsh economic environment they were operating in, with a high degree of imported raw materials, rising import prices and a low degree of capacity utilization. Thus we can argue that there would have been a concentration of income even with the middle industrialists, which led to the consolidation of this class. To the extent that the class identified with a Sinhala Buddhist ideology, their strong economic position may have been significant in terms of a financial backing for Sinhala Buddhist propaganda of various forms: as opposed to a situation where all the industrialists in the group were merely 'breaking even' and operating at low levels of profitability—they would then not have had the means to involve themselves in ideological issues.

The system of patronage need not have been limited to the middle level industrialists. The 1972-75 Development plan stressed the need to develop a small scale industrial sector for the purpose of employment creation. As a result of this the share of small manufacture industries in total value added to manufacturing rose from 6.4% in 1970 to 14.2% in 1972. But this too, was concentrated regionally and there was little dispersion into the Tamil areas (Survey of manufacturing 1978).

Thus from this investigation of private sector industrialisation, we can conclude that, it was the predominance of the state (with its distinctly dominant Sinhala interests) in providing the framework for this sector that

led to the discrimination of the minority Tamil industrialist.

Also, linked to this is the fact that state control of trade in this period would have adversely affected the mainly non-Sinhala trading interests. And unlike the Sinhala traders, who were able to reinvest their capital in the light industrial due to state patronage, these minority traders may have experienced strong curtailment of economic activity. This however needs more investigation and we need to examine whether these traders did in fact reinvest in other areas.

(To be Continued)

English...

(Continued from 31)

claimed that England had "won on points."

C. L. R. James, former West Indian cricketer, writer and Marxist intellectual writes about the modern game in his crickering classic *Beyond a Boundary*. "Cricketers try to preserve the external decencies. The tradition is still strong. But instead of 'it isn't cricket' now one hears more frequently the cynical 'why isn't it cricket? Scarcely a tour but hits the headlines for some grave breach of propriety on and off the cricket field. The strategy of Test matches is the strategy of stalking the prey: you come out in the open to attack only when the victim is wounded."

The majority of Pakistani fans believe that their team at least dealt with these problems with some dignity in England last summer but that the English players in Pakistan are indulging in his trionics, possibly reflecting a false sense of superiority.

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